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7 **UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT**
8 **DISTRICT OF NEVADA**

9 REBEKAH CHARLESTON; ANGELA
10 DELGADO-WILLIAMS; and LEAH
ALBRIGHT-BYRD;

11 Plaintiff,

12 vs.

13 STATE OF NEVADA; STEVE SISOLAK,
14 in his capacity as Governor of the State of
Nevada, and the
15 LEGISLATURE OF THE STATE OF
NEVADA;

16 Defendants.

Case No.: 3:19-cv-00107-MMD-WGC

**APPENDIX TO PLAINTIFFS’
OPPOSITION TO DEFENDANTS
STATE OF NEVADA AND GOVERNOR
STEVE SISOLAK’S MOTION TO
DISMISS FIRST AMENDED
COMPLAINT
(ECF No. 22)**

[Vol. III of III]

17 Plaintiffs Rebekah Charleston, Angela Delgado-Williams, and Leah Albright-Byrd
18 (hereinafter collectively referred to as “Plaintiffs”), by and through their undersigned
19 counsel of record, files this Appendix [Volume III of III] of Exhibits to Plaintiffs’
20 Opposition to Defendants State of Nevada and Governor Steve Sisolak’s Motion to Dismiss
21 First Amended Complaint (ECF No. 22).

22 DATED this 21st day of May, 2019.

HUTCHISON & STEFFEN, PLLC

23 By: /s/ Jason D. Guinasso, Esq.

24 JASON D. GUINASSO, ESQ. (SBN# 8478)
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Exhibit 2- Crysta N. Price, Terry D. Clark, & Julie Faller, Nevada's Online Commercial Sex Market, HUMAN TRAFFICKING INITIATIVE, CREIGHTON UNIVERSITY (2017), https://awakenreno.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/05/FINAL Nevada March2018.pdf	I	0007-0029
Exhibit 3- Seo-Young Cho, Axel Dreher, & Eric Neumeyer, Does Legalized Prostitution Increase Human Trafficking?, WORLD DEVELOPMENT, at pg. 41, 67-82 (2012), https://eprints.lse.ac.uk/45198/1/Neumayer Legalized Prostitution Increase 2012.pdf	I	0030-0078
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Exhibit 10- Nye County Annual Budget	II	0283-0285
Exhibit 11- Articles on Branding and Marketing Efforts of Las Vegas for "Sin City"	II	0286-0309
Exhibit 12- Kateri M. Grillot, WHAT HAPPENED IN VEGAS?: THE USE OF DESTINATION BRANDING TO INFLUENCE PLACE ATTACHMENTS (2007)	III	0310-0476
Exhibit 13- Sin City Chamber of Commerce references	III	0477-0478
Exhibit 14- Nevada Day 2018 Website	III	0479-0480
Exhibit 15- Minutes from Assembly Committee on Government Affairs, May, 12, 2017 at page 12; Exhibit E PowerPoint presentation by Senator Segerblom	III	0481-0493
Exhibit 16- Campaign Contribution Reports from Brothels and Brothel Owners to State Officials	III	0494-0498

CERTIFICATE OF SERVICE

Pursuant to FRCP 5(b), I certify that I am an employee of Hutchison & Steffen, PLLC, over the age of 21 years, and not a party to nor interested in the within action. I certify that on this date, the foregoing was electronically filed with the United States District Court. Electronic service of the foregoing document shall be made in accordance with the Master Service List as follows:

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EXHIBIT 12

Kateri M. Grillot, WHAT HAPPENED IN
VEGAS?:
THE USE OF DESTINATION
BRANDING TO INFLUENCE PLACE
ATTACHMENTS (2007)

(0310-0476)

EXHIBIT 12

WHAT HAPPENED IN VEGAS?:
THE USE OF DESTINATION BRANDING TO INFLUENCE PLACE ATTACHMENTS

A Thesis by

Kateri M. Grillot

Bachelor of Fine Arts in Communication, Newman University, 2002

Submitted to the Department of the Elliott School of Communication
and the faculty of the Graduate School of
Wichita State University
in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts

May 2007

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WHAT HAPPENED IN VEGAS?:
THE USE OF DESTINATION BRANDING TO INFLUENCE PLACE ATTACHMENTS

I have examined the final copy of this thesis for form and content, and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the degree of Master of Arts with a major in Communication.

Susan Huxman, Committee Chair

We have read this thesis and recommend its acceptance:

Lisa Parcell, Committee Member

Dorothy Billings, Committee Member

DEDICATION

To my husband for believing, my family for supporting, and my son for inspiring

You can tell the ideals of a nation by its advertisements.

-Norman Douglas, 1917

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ABSTRACT

In 2000, the city of Las Vegas broke away from traditional tourism marketing and started using the destination brand of “adult freedom” in their promotional campaigns. The Las Vegas Convention and Visitor’s Authority not only changed the way they promoted the city of Las Vegas but more importantly, in 2003, changed the way Americans communicate about the city, with the often quoted, “what happens here, stays here” slogan. Las Vegas’ success was examined to glean insights into this rhetorical strategy and into how destination brands impact place attachments. This study draws from the works of Campbell & Jamieson in advertising, Campbell & Huxman in rhetoric and Altman & Low in place attachment theory in examining the campaign’s context, television spots, and portrayal in the media through critical discourse analysis of the Las Vegas Convention and Visitor’s Authority campaigns from 2000-2006.

Employing methods of literature review, textual analysis and content analysis this study revealed several theoretical implications for theories in communication and anthropology. The analysis highlights a return to core forms of communication to understand destination branding, the role of participation in brand construction, and suggests the incorporation of place attachment theory into destination branding research. In addition, this study identified key phases of destination brand construction as well as critical probes useful in destination brand evaluation.

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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

In 2000, Las Vegas made a decision that forever altered the way the rest of the country and the rest of the world perceives the neon-lit desert city. The joint decision of the Las Vegas Convention and Visitor's Authority (LVCVA) and their long-time advertising agency R&R Partners to promote Las Vegas via a brand marked one of the first times an American city joined the global trend of destination branding. Three years into the process the campaign had become more successful than even its creators could have anticipated.

The Las Vegas tag line, "What happens here, stays here" was not the first slogan created for the branding campaign that launched in 2000. It is, however, the most popular and has been consistently used by R&R Partners and the LVCVA in branding Las Vegas as the capital of adult freedom since January 2003 (Thomaselli 2004 p6). The branding initiative has changed the way people think and communicate about Las Vegas in a short amount of time with what appears to be relative ease. As *Brandweek's* Mike Beirne noted, "In the campaign, Las Vegas is no longer being defined by its former attractions, but rather by concepts embracing adult freedom" (2001).

The breakthrough slogan has translated to phenomenal success and recognition for Las Vegas. Two marketing firms placed Las Vegas in the top five Newsmaker brands of 2005, among the list, Apple's iPod, Google, Oprah Winfrey, and eBay (Crowley, M. 2005). Rossi Ralenkotter, president of the LVCVA and Billy Vassiliadis, CEO at R&R Partners shared Brandweek's Grand Marketer of the Year award for the campaign (Beirne 2004).

The campaign also has measures of success outside of industry recognition. Visitors to Las Vegas have risen drastically and steadily under the branding initiative. "Thirty-five million people vacationed there annually from 2000-2003. But after that year, when the campaign

debuted, the number jumped to a then-record 37 million in 2004 and again to 38.5 million in 2006.” (Reed 2006).

The destination brand is still in its infancy, but deserves attention for more than its popular slogan, “what happens here, stays here,” the advertising awards it earned or even the record-breaking attendance numbers achieved in a post 9/11 world. The campaign signifies a rhetorically powerful strategy with only limited understanding from previous research that in a short period of time altered the collective perception of a nation. It is hard to have a conversation with anyone about Las Vegas that does not provoke one of the participants to utter the now famous slogan.

Las Vegas’ brand, unlike New York City’s campaign in the late 70s, was not created to deal with an image in crisis (Greenburg 2003). As some destination researchers point out, New York’s I ♥ NY campaign focused on logos and slogans but “was not truly a branding initiative” (Morgan & Pritchard 1999 p106). Las Vegas was enjoying steady growth at the time the decision to brand was made and drastic changes in the marketing of the city did not seem warranted like New York’s need to address its dark, and at times, criminal image (Greenburg 2003).

Destination branding has received limited scholarly attention and the prevailing view among researchers on the subject is that very little is understood about destination branding. Morgan, Pritchard & Piggott noted the absence of studies examining the “the extent to which these brands impact the population” and they call for research exploring the relationship between culture and branding (2003 p285). The success of the Las Vegas branding campaign in numbers and in popularity provides an opportunity to explore the possible relationship between culture and branding. In addition, there are few studies that provide illuminating cultural critiques for

how and why some campaigns create an attractive identity for a community with positive economic ramifications and others do not.

However, destination branding research up to this point has been limited to individual descriptive studies of specific locations, unconfirmed theories of how to brand a destination or the problems encountered by destination branding organizations. This is not a criticism of previous research, the nature of destination branding calls for an in-depth examination of the particular context to explain the success or failure of a destination brand. The time has now come for destination branding research to step out of the isolated location study and to contribute to a larger frame of understanding. Las Vegas has carefully and successfully implemented all of the strategies merely suggested by previous research, but on a much larger scale. However, the choices made by Las Vegas and even the city itself cannot alone explain its success. A wider treatment of the entire campaign, its effects, and Las Vegas' new identity within American perceptions should reveal understanding of the strategy and not merely another isolated incident of advertising success.

As more locations are following Las Vegas' footsteps, critical insights into the execution of this strategy are called for because of the financial and economic ramifications of destinations using the strategy and failing. Morgan, Pritchard and Pride (2002) in *Destination Branding: Creating the Unique Destination Proposition* offer examples of locations that may have experienced some limited success with destination branding but succumbed to criticism or had to be abandoned. The authors note that external pressure from Morocco's outside stakeholders in the 1990s began diluting the brand values because the stakeholders wanted the brand to promote the sun and sea and not the nation as a cultural destination (2002 p16). Israel's well-funded and well-supported branding strategy at the turn of the millennium has been undermined by the

breakdown in the peace process (2002 p19). The only American city mentioned by the authors, Philadelphia, draws criticism for promising too much with its brand slogan about one's memories of the city living forever (2002 p21).

The aim of this study will be first, to explain how a destination brand should be constructed. Second, this study will seek to find out how a destination brand should be evaluated. Finally, this study seeks to propose a method of addressing the complexities of destination branding that previous research methods have only addressed in disparate ways by using critical discourse analysis.

Although the destination of study is Las Vegas, the goal is to not provide a best practices example for other destinations but to offer a research approach capable of studying the complexities of this strategy in its entirety by suggesting theoretical unions from the fields of advertising, human communication and anthropology. Specifically the study draws from the use of narrative, Kenneth Burke's dramatisic pentadic theory, and anthropology's place attachment theory. Altman and Low's 1992 anthropological work with place attachment theory will be partnered with critical discourse analysis, as a framework for studying the relationship between culture and branding to determine how a destination brand should be constructed and evaluated. A brief review of Altman and Low's work and guidelines for using critical discourse analysis will be provided before proposing the most appropriate methods for studying the Las Vegas campaign.

LITERATURE REVIEW

To begin, a working definition of destination branding must be provided by reviewing relevant work in branding research in general, and branding as it has been applied to destinations

in particular. Then place attachment theory as it relates to the object of study will be discussed. Finally, the choice to utilize critical discourse analysis will be explained.

Reviewing the Literature on Branding

Branding is often seen as one tool available to advertisers seeking an advantage in a grossly saturated market of advertisements clamoring for even one slice of the consumer's attention. Branding has received a lot of attention from researchers trying to explain and evaluate advertising's use of this popular tool. First, branding will be defined and then different approaches to explaining branding will be reviewed.

Although branding is most frequently discussed in the literature as a recent form of communication used in advertising, Fiona Gilmore points out that brands are first and foremost "the use of simple symbols to communicate...(and are) at least as old as Christianity in the Western world" (in Morgan, Pritchard & Pride 2002 p57). Additionally Gilmore argues that branding is a product of the Industrial Revolution and the transformation from a rural to urban society. As competing products emerged, manufacturers sought ways to distinguish themselves. The introduction of television advertising was another critical milestone in the evolution of branding due to "the power of moving pictures and aural communication to communicate more intrusively" (Gilmore in Morgan, Pritchard & Pride 2002 p57). In this new medium, brands could be communicated in a variety of ways.

Branding is not a new phenomenon, but in 1960, a widely accepted definition of this use of symbols to communicate emerged that most modern branding scholars use to begin their discussions of branding. The American Marketing Association's defined a brand as "a distinguishing name and/or symbol (such as a logo, trademark, or package design) intended to

identify the goods or services of one seller or a group of sellers and to differentiate those goods or services from those of competitors” (AMA 1960). This definition has evolved some over time (see King 1970, 1973 & Lannon & Cooper 1983). David Aaker’s definition, one of the most cited scholars in the area of branding, varies little from this definition (1991) and Jim Avery refers to the brand briefly as a “point of difference” (2000 p105). One study attempting to find a consistent definition of branding used content analysis of in-depth interviews with brand professionals trying to find a central definition (De Chernatony, Dall Olmo, & Harris 1998), but could only fully report a key trait of branding: “multi-dimensionality.” De Chernatony et. al argued that “brand success is a multidimensional construct comprised of both business-based and consumer based criteria. (They) are interrelated and cannot be considered in isolation” (1998). However, other branding definitions have emerged beyond the notions of identification and differentiation alone.

DeChernatony & McDonald defined a successful brand as “an identifiable product, service, person or place, augmented in such a way that the buyer or user perceives relevant unique added values which match their needs most closely (2001).” Some scholars have added that a brand is not merely reduced to meeting our physical needs but our desires as well. “A brand is more than just the sum of its parts; it embodies additional attributes that are intangible, but very real. In this sense, brands also provide emotional benefits” (Caldwell & Freire 2004 p51). As an example, one purchases a Louis Vuitton purse not only because of the need to carry personal property in an organized fashion but because it increases one’s sense of self-worth, thus justifying the expensive purchase. Upon this notion of brands being capable of fulfilling desires, it is not a stretch to accept another feature of brands; they are relational.

“Consumers develop relationships with brands based on their symbolic value. As a result the brand becomes alive and is no longer a passive object but an active partner in the consumer’s mind” (Ekinci & Hosany 2006 p128). This is evident when someone who carries a Louis Vuitton handbag begins to refer to the bag or the manufacturer simply as “Louie.” The brand name is no longer on the same level as other brands because the owner has elevated the brand to a higher status and created a relationship with the brand.

While Douglas Holt does not offer a specific definition of brand, it is Holt’s 2004 comparison of branding models that will be the most illuminative here. Holt classified four types of branding. The first one, “mind-share branding” stems from the metaphor of “brands contesting for scarce mental real estate in consumer’s minds” (Holt p15). One example of mind-share branding is Crest toothpaste as having distinct anti-cavity ingredients.

The second type of branding is “emotional branding.” Emotional branding builds upon mind-share assumptions and “emphasizes how this brand essence should be communicated” through emotional appeals to “spur emotionally charged relationships” (Holt 2004 p21). Coca-cola is an example of emotional branding because the product is often partnered with overtly American themes. Marc Gobe contributes to the understanding of emotional branding with his 2001 book, *Emotional Branding*.

Emotional branding provides the means and methodology for connecting products to the consumer in an emotionally profound way. It focuses on the most compelling aspect of the human character; the desire to transcend material satisfaction, and experience emotional fulfillment. A brand is uniquely situated to achieve this because it can tap into the aspirational drives which underlie human motivation (Gobe 2001 pxv).

The third type, “viral branding,” is more organizational than emotional. Viral branding “focuses on the paths of public influence: how non-company actors influence customers to value the brand” (Holt 2004 p28). Snapple through its use of grass roots or buzz efforts to establish its brand is an example of viral marketing.

The final type of branding is “cultural branding.” “In cultural branding, communications are the center of customer value. Customers buy the product to experience these stories. The product is simply a conduit through which customers can experience the stories that the brand tells” (Holt 2004 p36). Holt argues Mountain Dew’s targeting of two cultural myths, the hillbilly myth in the sixties and the slacker myth in the nineties, indicate how the company adapted to the cultural changes in the United States to increase sales leaving other soft drinks in its wake (Holt 2004). Holt’s understandings of both emotional and cultural branding are pertinent to this study of destination branding because they highlight relationship and narrative themes.

While scholars may have different definitions of branding, there is little disputing that branding has the power to elicit emotional responses. Those responses have been studied in several ways. One such response is loyalty. Donald Parente in *Advertising Campaign Strategy*, offers a continuum to express the varying degrees of loyalty by consumers ranging from simple brand awareness to brand acceptance to brand preference to brand insistence at the high end (2000 p75). Having a high level of brand preference or insistence makes a brand into what Parente calls a “power brand” whose name alone, such as Nike, can have extensive monetary value.

Scholars have developed other methods for studying brands. Weinreich (1999 p25-6 in Morgan, Pritchard & Pride 2002 p24) suggested to study brands not in the widely accepted model of brand life cycle but rather in an S-curve. The S-Curve identifies key phases of the

brand: birth, growth, maturity, decay and death, which according to Weinrich, can take weeks to centuries to occur. The life span of a brand is just as integral to understanding its effectiveness as the symbols used to communicate the brand.

Reviewing the Literature on Destination Branding

After reviewing the broad strokes of branding research and the multiple approaches to studying branding in general, the specific realm of destination branding research can be explored. First the varying definitions of destination branding will be discussed. Then case studies of other locations that have used this strategy will be reviewed.

“The practice of place branding has far outpaced the extent to which it has been written about in the public realm” (Morgan, Pritchard & Pride 2002 p3). This explains why a central definition of destination branding has yet to emerge. In 2004, Caldwell & Freire commented that “destination branding is a relatively new development and academic investigation in the area is just beginning to emerge” (p51) thus a uniform definition or definitive set of criteria against which to measure brand success has not come to fruition (Hankinson 2001 p139).

Morgan & Pritchard argue destination branding operates under the assumption, “branding is a two-way process done *with* and not *to* the consumer” (in Morgan Pritchard & Pride 2002 p24). Anholt offers a definition except it is called place branding and it is “defined as the practice of applying brand strategy and other marketing techniques and disciplines to the economic, social, political and cultural development of cities, regions and countries” (in Kerr 2006 p278).

Nickerson & Moisey offer a much more basic definition of destination branding, “in terms of statewide branding strategy, branding refers to what images people have of the state and what kind of relationship they have with it” (1999 p217). Ritchie & Ritchie define destination

branding as a “name, symbol, logo, word or other graphic that both identifies and differentiates the destination” (1998). They add to their definition two aspects, “it conveys the promise of a memorable travel experience that is uniquely associated with the destination” and “it also serves to consolidate and reinforce the recollection of pleasurable memories of destination experience” (Ritchie & Ritchie 1998 in Kerr 2006).

Beyond the simple definition of destination branding, some researchers have indicated definitions based on the nature of the geographic locale being studied. Since Las Vegas is a city, Mommas’ definition of city branding is appropriate here.

City branding is associated primarily with the economically inspired desire to position cities more positively in the midst of a scaled-up, more mobile and flooded market of locations and destinations. Cities have to be shaped emphatically, thematized and brought to the attention of the more mobile and less location-dependent companies, inhabitants and visitors (Mommas 2003 in Kerr 2006).

To address the research question at hand, the different categories of branding introduced thus far will help identify which types of branding are used predominantly in the campaign. With a conceptual foundation for branding established, a brief review of previous destination branding case studies will be offered.

An important distinction between traditional tourism marketing and branding has been made by destination researchers. “Branding a country is not quite the same thing as promoting tourism. The promotion of tourism obviously occupies more common ground with nation branding than any other aspect of a country’s external affairs, but it is merely a part of the whole” (Anholt in Morgan Pritchard & Pride 2002 p53). Understanding the difference between

destination branding and tourism marketing is necessary for this study because promoting destinations introduces key features and concerns unique to destinations and according to research (Morgan & Pritchard 1999 p105), cannot be treated in the same manner as products. Recall the multi-dimensionality of brands introduced earlier. Simply stated, there is a distinction between grandparents on roller-coasters encouraging folks to come on down and the Bahamavention campaign introduced in January of 2007. The former is tourism marketing that focuses on the amenities the location has to offer and the latter builds on the expectation of a brand that allows those consumed by their schedules to escape. In Morgan Pritchard & Piggott's examination of New Zealand, the authors noted that "the battle for customers in tomorrow's destination marketplace will be fought over hearts and minds-and this is where place promotion moves into the territory of brand management" (2003).

As in the case of New Zealand, much of what researchers have learned about destination branding has come out of case studies that have focused on the particular efforts of one destination. Case studies have been conducted on national, regional, state, city and even smaller destination levels such as an amusement park or casino. (See Appendix 1: Further Readings in Destination Branding.) However they have all encountered one similar limitation. The findings are highly relevant to the locale under study but may or may not translate onto other locations.

Within the U.S. destination case studies have focused mainly on the state level. Nickerson & Mosiey's study of Montana argued to return to the simplification of branding expressed by visitors as the attraction to a destination, however their main finding focused on destination specific icons such as mountain images and their treatment in tourism literature, which has little generalizability to other locations. Slater's study (in Morgan, Pritchard & Pride 2002) of Louisiana's—*Come as you are, leave different* branding campaign serves as a strong

example of how to discuss the multi-dimensionality of an American destination brand, but is only primary research and does not proffer any theoretical connections or ramifications.

D'Hautesserre (2001) included an American location (The Foxwoods Casino Resort in Connecticut) as a point of comparison to Disneyland in Paris in her study of destination branding in hostile environments which found “understanding local culture is imperative to the successful branding and marketing of a destination” (306).

After reviewing advertising’s treatment of branding, and the quagmire of destination branding definitions, it is now time to turn attention to the decision to draw from outside the discipline of communication for this study.

Reviewing Place Attachment Theory

Destination branding research alone has not provided a theoretical foundation capable of fully explaining this type of communication. Researchers have yet to explain why it works or does not work and only recently have confirmed that indeed, “places can be branded” (Caldwell & Friere 2004 p50) despite the complexities that previously prompted researchers to shy away from the topic (Morgan Pritchard & Pride 2002 p3). In looking to anthropological explanations of how humans attach meaning to locations, Altman and Low offer the most widely accepted theory of place attachment.

Before the campaign ever began, Americans had a relationship with Las Vegas; a complex relationship that could be explained best by place attachment theory. Place attachment, simply stated, is “the bonding of people to places” (Altman and Low, *Human Behavior and Environment* 1992, vol.12 p2). In the same work, Low further refined this definition and it is Low’s definition that will be utilized in the present study. “Place attachment is the symbolic

relationship formed by people giving culturally shared emotional/affective meanings to a particular space or piece of land that provides the basis for the individual's and group's understanding of and relation to the environment" (Low in Altman & Low 1992 p165).

Building on the relationship component mentioned earlier in Nickerson & Moisey's definition, it is not a stretch to see how these two areas overlap. Brands are successful based on their emotional power; place attachment theory also acknowledges the emotional connections a location offers. "Place attachment is a positive emotional bond that develops between individuals or groups and their environment" (Altman & Low in Mesch & Manor 1998 p504). However, place attachment has certain entailments that make this theoretical approach all the more appropriate for this study.

The critical entailments of place attachment theory pertaining to the research questions at hand are the multi-dimensionality of place attachments, the idea of favorite places within place attachment and a broader cultural treatment of place attachments. Each one of these entailments will be treated separately. First, the multi-dimensional nature of place attachments will be discussed.

Altman and Low reported that place attachment "was multidimensional and consisted of several related but different phenomena" (Altman & Low 1992 p3). Understanding how individuals or groups form attachments to places is not simple. Attachments can be formed through different methods for different reasons. Altman and Low argued that several methods and reasons could be occurring simultaneously or even consecutively. Research has to consider the variety of components in a single instance of place attachment and avoid the temptation to separate or isolate those components. "Social, cultural, and psychological, as well as economic

and political, aspects of place attachment do not function independently, but as part of a conceptual whole” (Low in Altman & Low 1992 p183).

Upon this understanding of the multi-dimensional nature of place attachment, one relevant subset of place attachment theory, favorite places, can be examined. The idea of selecting a favorite place is more than just a favorite picnic spot or comfortable reading chair. “Experiencing a favorite place with reference to oneself and one’s inclinations appears to be more important than inherently engaging or interesting properties of the environment per se” (Korpela et al. 2001 p585). In other words, favorite places that people are attached to have more to do with what they offer psychologically than physically. As the Las Vegas campaign suggests, it is not the physical but emotional amenities being sold. This is particularly insightful for the adult freedom brand used by Las Vegas with Korpela’s understanding of the function of favorite places. “Favorite places were often described as aesthetically engaging and afforded escape from social pressures with concomitant freedom of expression and control” (Korpela et al. 2001 p576).

Along with the emotional components of favorite places relevant to this study and the symbolic aspects at work is the use of narrative. Before addressing the final entailment, the role of narrative within place attachment will be briefly discussed. Low offers six kinds of symbolic linkage of people and land: “genealogy,” “loss or destruction,” “economics,” “cosmology,” “pilgrimage” and “narrative.” Low’s work with narrative is on point for this analysis of destination branding.

Specifically, “narrative creates place attachment through talking about place, either through storytelling or naming; the linguistic act of narrating is the process by which attachment occurs” (Low in Altman & Low 1992 p167). The Las Vegas commercials are narrative in nature;

however they are narratives that invite the viewing audience to participate in the completion of the narrative drawing from their own experiences. “Participation” was identified by Campbell & Jamieson as one of five aims of advertisers. *Creating product recognition, differentiating the product from others, enveloping the product in a set of favorable associations to increase product desire, inducing our participation in the creation of the ad’s meaning, and ensuring recall of the product and our need for it through redundant messages* (Campbell & Jamieson 2001 p216) are the five aims. Campbell & Jamieson’s treatment of “participation” in advertising indicates one theoretical point of contact between advertising and place attachment theory, especially in examining narratives that rely on viewer “participation” to complete the narrative as the Las Vegas campaign spots do.

In addition to “participation”, narrative has a cultural component as well. “Narrative...can function as a type of cultural place attachment in that people’s linkage to the land is through the vehicle of the story and identified through place naming and language” (Low in Altman & Low 1992 p174). Here the understanding of the development of place attachment through narrative provides a natural connection to the final entailment.

The final entailment is that place attachment research includes a cultural treatment of such attachments. This presents an opportunity for the Las Vegas campaign to contribute to the conversation on cultural place attachments. Altman and Low state that “dyads, families, community members, and even whole cultures often consensually or collectively share attachments to places” (Altman & Low 1992 p6). They also noted that “place attachments provide people and groups with a sense of unique cultural identity” (1992 p11). Low studied how place attachments involve culturally shared affective meanings and activities associated with

place that derive from sociopolitical, historical, and cultural sources in the central plaza in San Jose, Costa Rica (Low in Altman & Low 1992 p9).

This prompted Low to offer a cultural definition of place attachment. “A cultural definition of place attachment implies that for most people there is a transformation of the experience of a space or piece of land into a culturally meaningful and shared symbol, that is, place” (Low in Altman & Low 1992 p166). This notion stems from the idea that one actually has to visit the place to form this culturally meaningful and shared symbol. However research in place attachment suggests this is no longer the case for cultures.

“Social change in modern societies has increased the geographical mobility of individuals and has therefore ‘liberated’ the community from the constraints of place” (Wellman and Wellman & Leighton in Mesch & Manor 1998 p505). The advent of digital media further complicates the process through teleconferencing and McLuhan’s global village on the internet. Families are able to live farther apart while maintaining their relationships to one another and the places of importance within those relationships.

So place attachment theory applies to a broader spectrum than simply the physical location of a city and its surrounding areas but to the cultural perceptions of those who have never even been there. This is apparent not only of Las Vegas but any location with culturally meaningful and shared symbols such as Ellis Island, the Eiffel Tower, or as Greenberg notes the World Trade Center. This offers a deeper understanding of place attachment theory. “Because space no longer constricts movement and communication, community without propinquity is possible” (Mesch & Manor 1998 p508).

To summarize, place attachment theory’s main three entailments pertinent to the study of Las Vegas are the multi-dimensionality of place attachments, the idea of favorite places within

place attachment, including the use of narrative, and a broader cultural treatment of place attachment. Altman & Low's call for future research should "concern the nature and dynamics of attachment to different types of places and objects...a flag, slogan, or caricature" (1992 p5) for example. The slogan of the campaign is particularly worth studying from a place attachment lens because it represents a cultural favorite place communicated through narratives on multiple levels.

To review, "affect, emotion and feeling are central to the concept" (Altman & Low 1992 p4) of place attachment. Place attachments are not only formed by visiting physical places but through social connections that can trump the attributes of a particular locale (Altman & Low 1992 p7). Additionally, place attachment theory explains how places "fulfill people's emotional needs and enables them to develop and maintain their identities" (Kaiser & Fuhrer 1996 in Korpela et al. 2001 p573). Maintaining cultural identities is a natural extension of this sentiment.

Place attachment researchers have called for research to continue to explain the theory across new contexts and circumstances. Korpela et al. called for further inquiry about "the rapidity of attachment formation" (2001 p587). Given the branding initiative from Las Vegas is going into its seventh year with record attendance, this campaign is an example of rapid attachment formation on a large scale. After reviewing what is understood about destination branding and place attachment theory it is now appropriate to discuss the decision to incorporate critical discourse analysis to this study.

Altman and Low stated that, "place attachment is a complex and multi-faceted concept worthy of systematic analysis" (1992 p3). Additionally Kyle, Graefe & Manning said "research has indicated that multidimensional conceptualizations of place attachment are best suited"

(Kyle, Graefe & Manning 2005 p158) as analytical frameworks. A systematic analysis of multi-dimensional conceptualizations can best be offered through critical discourse analysis.

Reviewing Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) is not a theory. It is an interdisciplinary approach to seeking understanding. “CDA emphasizes the need for interdisciplinary work in order to gain a proper understanding of how language functions in...constituting and transmitting knowledge, in organizing institutions or in exercising power” (Gouveia in Weiss & Wodak 2003 p54). This approach allows the freedom to incorporate different disciplines and research methodologies in the pursuit of knowledge. Given the multidimensionality of destination branding and place attachment theory, critical discourse analysis will provide a wider understanding of the Las Vegas campaign. To isolate one or more of the elements denies the inherent complexity of the campaign.

Critical discourse analysis is concerned with three dimensions of approaching an object of study. “Each discursive event has three dimensions or facets: it is a spoken or written language text, it is an instance of discourse practice involving the production and interpretation of text and it is a piece of social practice” (Fairclough 1993 p136). By analyzing the results of analyzing the three different facets, a more complete understanding of the Las Vegas campaign can be gleaned. However, this approach is not just concerned with combining research efforts.

“Interdisciplinarity is not considered...as the mere supposition of analyses, by different disciplines, of the same object of study, but rather as the attempt to integrate them” (Weiss & Wodak 2003 p28). Simply examining the commercials is not enough, but partnering such a textual analysis with an analysis of the wide cultural reception to the slogan on a national forum

begins to explain the highly complex phenomenon that is destination branding. The campaign was not conceived, implemented or received in a vacuum, it should not be studied in one either. CDA researchers Weiss & Wodak offered steps to developing an integrated theoretical framework capable of reconciling different perspectives without reducing them to one another (2003 p8-10) which will influence the work done here.

This study is not the first to approach destination branding with critical discourse analysis. Flowerdew studied Hong Kong by applying “various aspects of discourse theory, specifically ideas from critical discourse analysis, genre analysis and branding (2004 p597). As Flowerdew found:

Branding is essentially concerned with discursive processes. These discursive processes, developing from the linguistically defined core values, are directed towards the creation of an image or set of images, along with a logo that will define the brand. The purpose of this semiotic process is social action, to persuade people to buy the product or service represented by the brand” (2004 p585).

The social action Flowerdew notes is one that can be addressed by the ability of critical discourse’s attention to how power is exercised. CDA can also tackle the multidimensionality of destination branding in the media.

Fairclough has set forth suggested guidelines for researchers who employ CDA. He “suggests that the analysis of media discourse should be multi-dimensional: texts must be related to the discursive practice and to the social practice of which they are part” (Erjavec 2004 p553). This suggests the need to analyze a fuller range of the effects of the Las Vegas campaign and to not isolate the study to only the text of the television spots for example. “Critical discourse analysis might contribute to more broadly conceived social research into processes of social and

cultural change affecting contemporary organizations” (Fairclough 1993 p158). Cities adopting the strategy of destination branding are organizations with a wide variety of resources at their disposal capable of provoking change. Greenberg has suggested in the case of the World Trade Center this strategy has very serious dangers:

“For insofar as it was successfully branded as the symbol of the New York’s and by extension America’s, rising power, so too did it come to represent the inequalities and injustices so many associated with the US...Thus in retrospect, it would seem that the more prominently the Twin Towers appeared as a globally branded icon, the larger they loomed as scapegoat and target” (Greenberg 2003 p409).

Although destination marketing conducted to increase tourism revenue may not seem linked to concerns with social and institutional power, any positioning or re-positioning on the world’s stage should be considered more carefully than destination branding has been to date. When it is considered, it should be considered in as complete a manner as possible. For Las Vegas, that manner is critical discourse analysis because it has the capacity to put “social analysis into connection with the fine detail of particular instances of institutional practice” (Fairclough 1993 p158).

METHODOLOGY

Destination branding studies up to this point have employed both quantitative (visitor surveys in Montana by Nickerson & Moisey 1999 p 219) and qualitative (of Wales & Australia by Morgan & Pritchard 1999 and Hall’s 2002 study of the re-imaging of the former Yugoslavia)

approaches in successful (Morgan, Pritchard, & Piggott about New Zealand 2003) and unsuccessful (Disneyland in Paris D'Hautesserre 2001) destination branding case studies. At this point in the study of destination branding survey research (Konecinik 2003, Nickerson & Moisey 1999, who stopped non-resident travelers at rest areas, airports and gas stations, Caldwell & Friere 2004, who surveyed students), observational fieldwork (D'Hautesserre 2001), archival analysis (D'Hautesserre 2001), in-depth interviews (Hankinson 2001, D'Hautesserre 2001), focus groups (Day, Skidmore & Koller 2001) and primary research heavily reliant on literature reviews (Hall 2002, Morgan & Pritchard 1999 & Morgan, Pritchard & Piggott 2003) have been the primary methods utilized. Only one study examined images from the main tourism websites to study the destination brand but provided mainly an evaluation of the Queensland images of how motivational those images were to potential tourists (Day, Skidmore & Koller 2001). Santos' study of Portugal involved a content analysis of travel advertisements (2004 in Ekinici & Hosany 2006).

This study will approach the Las Vegas campaign through critical discourse analysis on three dimensions, including textual discourse, discourse practice and discursive event as social practice. First, the context of culture will be described. Second, a textual analysis of the campaign spots will be conducted and third, a content analysis of media coverage of the branding campaign.

The first level of discovering discursive context “may refer to different levels of social organization—the context of situation, the institutional context, and the wider societal context of ‘context of culture’” (Fairclough 1993 p137). The best way to analyze this level is through an careful examination of Las Vegas literature regarding the city's history, the city's portrayal in films, visitor attendance statistics from the last twenty years and the relationship between the

LVCVA and their stakeholders. This method will address both how a brand should be constructed and evaluated and will be key in identifying the rhetorical challenges and opportunities and refining the variables in the second and third levels of analysis.

The examination of cultural context will rely heavily on primary research organized into the rhetorical obstacles as outlined by Campbell and Huxman's 2003 *The Rhetorical Act*. A literature review will be conducted pulling from general research on Las Vegas' history and government, critiques of film portrayals featuring Las Vegas in a prominent way (meaning the film had Las Vegas as a backdrop for more than half the film or contained the city in the title), trade journals' coverage of the branding initiative, and an examination of the financial costs and media purchases made in the campaign to provide a complete treatment of the context in which the campaign was created and executed through 2006.

The second level requires a close textual analysis of the branding commercials from 2000-2006. Although the widely popular slogan emerged in 2003, the branding initiative started in September 2000. By studying the complete range of commercials the brand in its entirety will be analyzed because individuals and communities may have seen only one spot or all of the spots multiple times. This method will address the question of how should a destination brand be constructed. The LVCVA has provided the researcher with copies of all of the commercials from the launch in 2000 until the end of 2006.

Fairclough established that the text level calls for "form-and-meaning analysis" (1993 p136) however, "describing advertising as discourse is both more complex and more difficult...for it means trying to describe all these elements, and their effects on each other" (Cook 2001 p5). This level of analysis will begin with an initial "descriptive analysis," (Campbell & Huxman 2003) a widely accepted practice by rhetorical scholars in unpacking a

text, focusing on the purpose, structure, tone, strategies and supporting materials in the television spots.

Pertinent findings from the descriptive analysis will be organized using Campbell and Jamieson's five aims of advertising beginning with purpose. The spots will be analyzed for the five aims: *creating product recognition*, *differentiation*, *favorable associations*, *participation* and *redundancy*. Specifically, Jamieson & Campbell's treatment for "participation" calls for an examination of whether or not the spot calls for "participation" to complete the narrative.

Structure will take into account the assembly features of the spot: the number of scenes used, the number of shots within each scene, and the format used, i.e. a video montage versus a narrative format. Structure will also be analyzed for the type of branding evident in the spot using Holt's four types of branding. Spots will be analyzed for instances of *mind-share*, *emotional*, *viral* or *cultural branding*.

Tone will be explored by examining the use of humor, images selected, and the use of lighting in the spots. In addition to the use of humor, this section of the analysis will also examine the tone of the spots created as a response to 9/11.

The strategies used in the spots will examine the actors depicted along gender, age and ethnic lines, the number of words spoken as dialogue versus the use of silence and the use of background music. The strategic use of narrative in the spots will also be analyzed. Low & Altman's theory of place attachment calls for special attention to be played to how the spots name the place, talk about place and tell stories.

The supporting materials of the spots examine the type of evidence used to support the argument being made. This will focus on the presence or absence of the portrayal of the amenities available in Las Vegas. Through an in-depth examination of the spots on a textual

level, it is hoped that more generalizable strategies for how a brand should be constructed can be identified through this level of analysis.

The final level calls for an analysis of discourse practice. Fairclough notes that discourse practice is “concerned with sociocognitive aspects of text production and interpretation” as well as “analysis (that) involves the detailed moment-by-moment explication of how participants produce and interpret texts” (1993 p136). The method appropriate for this level is a content analysis of the media discourse produced by the campaign. Content analysis can provide measures of frequency which may indicate how prevalent or isolated the slogan’s use in the media is. Although this is one small segment of the discourse practice surrounding the campaign, it is a documented one accessible across the nation via online news indices. This will not only provide insights into how destination brands should be evaluated but also a reflective measure of the relationship between culture and branding called for by Nickerson & Moisey.

A search will be conducted for the slogan “what happens here, stays here” minus the punctuation in the four geographic search areas of the US News for articles and broadcast transcripts from February of 2000 to December 31, 2006 in the Lexis-Nexis database. Duplicates will be removed and the articles and transcripts containing the slogan, which is an example of discourse practice, will be coded for several variables.

The primary unit of analysis will be the article/transcript. Some articles may contain multiple incidents of the slogan and those will be counted as well to create a secondary unit of analysis for how the slogan was produced and interpreted outside of the campaign. The variables identified as being useful to answer the research question of how a brand should be evaluated in the case of Las Vegas are date, geographic, article type, article focus, article valence, manner of slogan used, function of slogan used, sin references, and amenities referenced.

Date will create a timeline indicating any clustering of article/transcript occurrences around particular events as well as a measure of the brand's life cycle versus S-curve tendencies. Although six years may be a relatively short time in the life of a brand, it will be important to future research to establish such a baseline.

Geographic location of the article will indicate a measure of how proximity to the location may affect the discourse practice. It would stand to reason that locations closer geographically to Las Vegas might be more likely to reference the city than those farther away.

Article Type will be sub-divided into *op-ed stories*, *hard news stories*, *entertainment features* (Billy Crystal's Oscar reference to the campaign would fall in this category), *travel features*, *sports* and *trade journals* such as *Adweek* or *Brandweek*. For ease of comparison, *broadcast* articles will be coded into the same categories under *type*.

Article focus means the overall main focus of the entire article. Article focus has two sub-categories, relating to the campaign or non-related. *Related to the campaign* includes stories about *R&R Partners*, *the LVCVA*, *the campaign* specifically, the city of *Las Vegas*, and the *slogan* itself. *Non-related* will include *stories not relating* to one of the five related areas and one category of *unable to identify* article focus.

Article valence is the overall tone of the entire article/transcript meaning is the article/transcript depicting Las Vegas in a positive or negative way. A continuum of very positive, somewhat positive, unable to identify either positive or negative, somewhat negative to very negative will be used to measure valence. If the brand prompts coverage that is overtly positive, this measure could be highly useful in evaluating the brand.

Manner is operationalized as how the slogan appears in the story. The four sub-categories are *word for word*, *Las Vegas variations* of the slogan, *non-Las Vegas variations*, and *unable to*

identify manner. *Word for word* means the exact slogan created by the ad agency, “what happens here, stays here.” *Las Vegas variations* would be, “what happens in Vegas, stays in Vegas” or “what happens in sin city, stays in sin city” etc. *Non-related Las Vegas variations* would be other entities using a variation of the slogan, “What happens in Spokane, stays there” or “what happens on the playground, stays there” for example. *Unable to identify* would mean the manner of use could not be discerned by the coder.

Function is how the author used the slogan. The four sub-categories of function are the slogan is used to directly reference the campaign, as a literary device, quoting an individual, or other. *Direct campaign references* would include an author calling the campaign the “what happens here, stays here campaign.” The *literary device* category includes using the slogan in the headline, intro or lead, conclusion, or creatively adapting it to the topic being discussed.

Quotations are when the slogan was used by a celebrity or figure and it is directly quoted or referenced in the article. The *other* category would be for uses that cannot be classified in one of the other three areas. The manner and function of the slogan as it used in the article/transcript is an indicator of the textual production and interpretation critical discourse calls for as well as indicating, as Altman & Low suggest, how people talk about place.

Sin reference pertains to references that can be classified in one of the following four areas. The *history of the city* means mentions of Las Vegas’ seedy history, past history, past image, etc. *Use of sin* is anytime the word sin appears not relating to the history of Las Vegas including the label of “Sin City”. *Other sin terms* are any other words with a sinful connotation such as debauchery, temptation, greed, gluttonous, seedy, sly, dirty, naughty, guilt, etc. *Sexual references* would include words appearing in the article with a sexual connotation such as nude, adult (relating to adult entertainment), lustful, sleazy, sexy, etc. This variable addresses an

evaluative feature of destination branding, if a destination already has a well-known brand, as in this case—one that was given to the destination and not designated by the destination itself, it may show how successful was the campaign in its “re-branding” efforts.

Amenities reference should indicate to what degree a brand omits the need to name the particular attributes of a destination. Amenities will be categorized into three sub-divisions, *named*, *generic* and *unable to identify*. *Named* is the identification of a particular attraction or location within the destination, such as the Bellagio or Freemont Street. *Generic* means the use of general labels such as gaming, dining, shopping, casinos, buffets, amenities, attractions that are not linked to a particular company. *Unable to identify* means the coder has identified an amenities reference but is unable to classify the reference. If the destination branding research is right, and “travel is increasingly more about experiences, fulfillment and rejuvenation than about ‘places and things’” (King 2002 p107), examining the frequency of particular amenities being referenced will be an added mark of the trend of destination branding, serving as a key method of evaluating a brand.

The following three chapters will address each level of analysis beginning with the cultural context of the campaign in Chapter 2. Then the results of the textual discourse of the campaign commercials will be discussed in Chapter 3. Chapter 4 entails the content analysis of how the slogan was used in the media. In chapter 5, the different levels of analysis will be evaluated to offer suggestions of how a destination brand should be constructed and evaluated and discuss the greater theoretical implications of the rhetorical strategy.

Chapter 2

INTRODUCTION

There is no place like it. It is literally a beacon of civilization. Peering from space at their cloud-speckled blue and blood-rust planet, astronauts make out the lights of Las Vegas before anything else, a first sign of life on earth...More than 50 million people journey to it every year. Only Mecca inspires as many pilgrims. Las Vegas knows its visitors, caters to them, Though strangers, they are familiar. Nearly half of America has been there, more than any other locale in the nation...There are more guestrooms in Las Vegas than anywhere else in America, twice as many as in New York, Chicago or Los Angeles—and plans for more (Denton & Morris 2001 p7).

Before the branding commercials began, Americans already had a relationship with Las Vegas. In order to better understand how the branding initiative impacted the relationship between destination and tourist, the context of culture pre-dating and occurring during the campaign needs to be analyzed identifying both rhetorical and tourism related obstacles and opportunities. It is hoped that a fuller treatment of the pre-existing relationship between American culture and Las Vegas will reveal insights into how a destination brand should be constructed and evaluated. A large component of this discussion is historical in nature, but it serves to address the overall rhetorical landscape encountered by Las Vegas at the outset of the destination branding initiative.

First, Campbell and Huxman's (2003) discussion of rhetorical obstacles in *The Rhetorical Act* will be used to frame the rhetorical challenges of the campaign. Then, the rhetorical opportunities will be discussed according to Brown et. al's (in Morgan, Pritchard and Pride

2002) conclusions of linking events to destination branding. Finally, the business aspects of the tourism obstacles and opportunities to establishing a destination brand will be addressed.

ANALYSIS

Rhetorical Obstacles

Campbell and Huxman identify four types of rhetorical obstacles impacting a rhetor's effectiveness, rhetor related, subject related, audience related and purpose related (2003). Before addressing each of these rhetorical obstacles in the case of Las Vegas, the rhetor must be identified. The rhetorical act was constructed by an advertising agency, R&R Partners, paid for by the Las Vegas' Convention and Visitor's Authority to represent Las Vegas and the surrounding areas. To simply say Las Vegas is the rhetor is to deny the role advertising and tourism organizations played in the rhetorical act. A brief history of each organization will be provided before discussing the rhetorical challenge of multiple rhetors as it pertains to this analysis.

Identifying the Rhetor.

The LVCVA began in 1955 when "the State Legislature agreed to finance the Clark County Fair and Recreation Board (which later became known as the LVCVA) with money acquired from a room tax levied on hotel and motel properties in Clark County" (LVCVA website accessed 2/4/2007). This revenue was paid completely by tourists and not by local residents. The Las Vegas Convention Center was constructed and the LVCVA started destination marketing with the funds (LVCVA website accessed 2/4/2007). Although started with Las Vegas

in mind, the LVCVA promotes Southern Nevada and the communities of Laughlin, Boulder City, Jean, Primm, Henderson, North Las Vegas and Mesquite.

The LVCVA is not a membership-based organization like other visitors' bureaus. The LVCVA "was established by a state law, is funded by a county room tax, and is governed by an autonomous Board of Directors" (LVCVA website accessed 2/4/2007). The fourteen members of the board includes six members from the private sector nominated by the Las Vegas Chamber of Commerce and Nevada Resort Association to "represent the hotel industry and general business interest"(LVCVA website accessed 2/4/2007). The LVCVA website touts that the board "is one of the most successful public-private partnerships in the country" containing two members from Clark County, two members from the City of Las Vegas, one each from North Las Vegas, Henderson, Mesquite and Boulder City in addition to the six private sector members (LVCVA website accessed 2/4/2007). Rossi Ralenkotter was executive vice president of marketing for the board when the branding campaign began and after board president Manny Cortez retired, took over as board president and chief executive officer in July 2004, largely in part due to the success of the branding campaign being studied here.

The LVCVA does not take sole credit for the branding campaign. Las Vegas based advertising agency R&R Partners provided the creative muscle for the campaign. R&R has represented individual casinos like the Luxor, Circus Circus and Excalibur in addition to non-gaming clients, Sierra Pacific Resources, Columbia Sunrise Hospital, and more recently, created a methamphetamines spot for the Partnership for a Drug-Free America and handles a small account for the Southern Nevada Water Authority. R&R CEO, Billy Vassiliadis in Las Vegas and Bob Henrie based in Salt Lake City, Utah run the agency founded by Sig Rogich in the 1970s (Voight 2000).

The agency bills \$100-120 million annually and the LVCVA account accounts for \$20-30 million of their billing. R&R Partners has held the LVCVA's account since 1980, longer than most Las Vegas marriages last. However, the relationship is far from permanent. The agency faced a review in 1999 for the prized LVCVA account and had to compete to keep the account. The pitch included using research and trend analysis for the new approach in marketing "Brand Las Vegas" Ralenkotter told Adweek (2000). The agency won the account and the contract was set to expire in June of 2004. R&R then earned a five year, \$320 million extension in 2003 "because the shop...adapted to changes in the tourism climate brought about by 9/11, the economy, SARS, war in Iraq and Afghanistan and increased competition to create research-driven campaigns" (Flass 2003 adweek.com).

Brand specialists, to borrow the term from Slater (in Morgan, Pritchard & Pride 2002 p151) or brand champions, to borrow the term from Morgan & Pritchard 2002 p5), regardless of title, are those behind the creation and execution of the destination brand. It was their job to address the challenges to destination branding in general and Las Vegas as the particular destination. R&R vice president and creative director Randy Snow, along with Vassiliadis and Ralenkotter became the brand champions for Las Vegas. The co-copywriters working under Snow, Jeff Candido and Jason Hoff, both whom later left the agency were the ones credited with penning the famous slogan (Friess 2004 pA14).

For the purposes of this analysis, the LVCVA is the primary rhetor. Although the messages of the campaign were constructed by R&R partners, the LVCVA approved and paid for the branding campaign. However, for most viewers, the LVCVA is seen merely as an extension of the city of Las Vegas itself and what the LVCVA says, for better or for worse, by natural extension is a reflection of the entire location. The reverse is true as well. Whatever

reputation the location of Las Vegas has, the LVCVA shares by association. In this analysis, the rhetor can be the advertising agency, the visitor's authority or the overall city of Las Vegas or any combinations of the three. This symbiotic relationship makes the rhetor hard to isolate so the term rhetor will be used to refer to isolated entities or their overall combined efforts. Campbell and Huxman's first rhetorical obstacle, rhetor related, allows for a closer examination of the problem with rhetors' shared associations and reputations.

Rhetor Related Obstacles

Rhetor related obstacles were the greatest challenge facing the branding campaign from Las Vegas. The effectiveness of a message is largely determined by the audience's perception of the rhetor. Campbell and Huxman note four distinct themes for influencing rhetor related obstacles, the source's reputation, the rhetor's appearance, how the rhetor is introduced to the audience and the context of the rhetorical act (2003 p226-7). Each of these themes will be discussed in greater detail as they relate to the rhetor(s) behind the campaign.

First, Las Vegas' track record is a rhetorical challenge. From the old west, to the rise of organized crime, through the testing of nuclear weapons and the crafting of certain landmarks, Las Vegas' past reads like a who's who in American history weaving entertainment greats like Elvis Presley and Frank Sinatra, politicians like John F. Kennedy and Richard Nixon and millionaires like Howard Hughes and Steve Wynn in a well crafted story of power, politics and prestige. Las Vegas is a relatively young city that celebrated its one hundredth birthday in 2005 and in addition to its other claims now owns the honor of being "the USA's fastest-growing major metro area" (Ritter 2006 p3A). How the desert city with a less than respectable track

record became a booming metropolis is an important contextual component presenting a rhetor related challenge to Las Vegas.

The story of Las Vegas is the story of America as Denton & Morris tell it in their book, *The Money and the Power*. Las Vegas, “The Meadows,” was named for springs that sustained foliage in the middle of the desert valley in the Pah-Ute Indian territory (Paher 1971 p14) and thus became a stop on the Old Spanish Trail. Thirty Mormons founded the Las Vegas mission in 1855 (Denton & Morris p93) and in May of 1905 the Las Vegas township was founded. It remained little more than a dusty stop for travelers going from Chicago to Los Angeles until the state legislature, in 1927, legalized a three-month divorce, only to reduce it to six-weeks four years later. The aim of the decision, along with the creation of financial shelters for the wealthy was to fill hotel rooms in Reno. Another legislative decision that influenced its formation was the 1931 legalization of gambling which influenced the development of the Strip and Fremont Street as casino hubs.

The Strip was a stretch of road outside of the city, home to major landmarks like the Flamingo, El Rancho Vegas, The Last Frontier, Bellagio and others; Fremont street, named after John C. Fremont, credited as the first official American explorer of the territory, in downtown Vegas was the main gaming area inside the city limits home to the Pioneer Club and the neon cowboy known as Vegas Vic. Fremont street was originally known as Glitter Gulch, but was re-vamped and re-named the Fremont Street Experience in 1995.

The legalization of gambling prompted the beginning of Las Vegas’ resort history, a history with connections to organized crime. Land & Land in *A Short History of Las Vegas* note that some say “Mobster Benjamin “Bugsy” Siegel was the father of modern Las Vegas” (1999). Siegel opened the Flamingo Hotel on the Strip in 1946 and ushered in the era of vaudeville

performers, **topless revues** and lounge acts. Although Siegel was murdered in 1947, the themed resorts flourished. “By 1954, over 8 million visitors were flocking to the city every year. They left behind more than \$200 million in what was now the gambling Mecca of the world and the entertainment capital of the nation” (Denton & Morris 2001 p.128).

Two historical events in the Las Vegas area also influenced the growth and perceptions of the city’s track record, the construction of the Hoover Dam in the early 1930s and atomic weapons testing in the fifties and sixties. In 1928, congress passed the much debated Boulder Canyon Project Act green lighting the construction of what became known as one of the seven man-made wonders of the world, the Boulder Dam on the Colorado River later named for Herbert Hoover. With global attention on the project during the Depression, job seekers flocked to the fifty million dollar project. Las Vegas as the closest city to the jobsite enjoyed a population swell when much of the rest of the nation was suffering. Being quick to capitalize on the attention, Las Vegas declared itself the Gateway to the Dam (Land & Land 1999). The second historical event impacting the city’s track record was more destructive than constructive.

From 1951 to as late as 1968 (Land & Land 1999 p111) nuclear weapons tests took place at the Nevada test site sixty-five miles northwest of the city. The mushroom clouds were visible in downtown Las Vegas and many hotels turned nuclear testing into marketing gold with Ms. Atomic Bomb competitions at the Sands and The Atomic View Motel “promised guests that they could watch the next explosion in comfort between swims” (Land & Land 1999 p114). The most alarming and yet not surprising marketing tactic came from the Las Vegas Chamber of Commerce. They “printed special atomic calendars with dates of future tests marked so visitors could plan their holidays to include the spectacle” (Land & Land 1999 p114).

With casinos rising and the population expanding, Las Vegas' track record seemed well-established. Organized crime and nuclear weapons may be a part of its past, but Las Vegas never seemed to rest on attracting tourists. Casinos would come down and larger more extravagant structures would take their place. If Las Vegas was indeed an adult playground, key players like Bugsy Siegel, Howard Hughes, Jay Sarno of Caesars Palace and Circus Circus, Kirk Kerkorian of The International and Steve Wynn of the Mirage, Treasure Island and the brand new The Wynn were the ones holding most of the legos.

Las Vegas' track record was shaped by associations to the entertainment industry, Howard Hughes, Frank Sinatra, Sammy Davis Jr., Dean Martin, Liberace, Wayne Newton, Elvis Presley all called Las Vegas home and today this trend shows no signs of slowing down with Cher, Blue Man Group and Celine Dion playing to packed houses almost nightly. Siegfried & Roy and David Copperfield, through years of performances, have made Las Vegas the place for magic, literally. Recent events have brought more spotlight to the city including "Roy Horn's tiger injury, Michael Jackson's indictment and Britney Spears's 55-hour marriage" (Friess 2004 pA14).

Throughout the mob connections, the atomic testing, the rise and fall of million dollar casinos and a parade of big names, Las Vegas has been the backdrop for a city worthy of attention. A city with the track record of Las Vegas has a lot to account for from its criminal connections to legalized gambling and prostitution and the way it could take events in American history like the building of the Hoover dam and atomic weapons testing and turn them into marketing ploys does not bolster credibility. Although questionable by some moral standards, the city has been consistent in what it offers to tourists. Tourists know they can come to the city and

see a new marvel of modern architecture which raises another rhetorical challenge, the city's ever-changing appearance.

Second, Las Vegas' appearance was also a rhetorical challenge. Another challenge Las Vegas created for itself was the ever-evolving skyline of resorts rising and falling. The destruction and subsequent construction of mega-hotels is unique to the city and one resort can drastically change the physical appearance of the city. "While repeat visitors are aware of the city's transformation, others haven't updated their frame of reference" (Beirne 2001). So the argument was made that Las Vegas did not need updating, it was America's perception of the city that needed adjusting. In addition to the physical appearance of the city, Las Vegas has to contend with its appearance on the large and small screens as well.

Las Vegas' appearance has been shaped through a Hollywood lens. How Las Vegas was and is depicted in films and on television becomes part of that canvas of how the rest of the country views the city and thus is worthy of a treatment here; particularly when one considers that Las Vegas has promoted itself through advertising, but does not have control over how the city is painted on the large and small screens. Whether viewed all or in part, how Las Vegas is portrayed in film impacts viewers' opinions of the city. The same could be said for Paris, London or New York.

Although no formal research could be found treating Las Vegas' depiction in Hollywood or other cities for that matter, it remains an important component for cities to consider in the construction of a brand. Howard Hampton in his review of *Viva Las Vegas* noted how parts of the film served as Chamber of Commerce commercials showcasing the big hotels (1994 p45) however most of the review focused on the movie and not the depiction of the city. Plenty of research has focused on the genre of mob movies with particular attention being paid to *The*

Godfather trilogy, (see Berliner 2001 and Poon 2006 to name just a few) and to the acting performances in *Leaving Las Vegas* (see Figgis et.al 1996).

In looking at forty years of movies, most Las Vegas movies fall into the category of drama. Such dramatic, although some do have their comedic moments, films would include *Ocean's 11* (1960 and 2001), *3000 Miles to Graceland* (2001), and *Pay It Forward* (2000). Films like *Con Air* (1997) and *Rain Man* (1988) are not entirely about the city or its residents but several key scenes take place there shaping the appearance of Las Vegas.

Fear and Loathing in Las Vegas (1998) and *Leaving Las Vegas* (1995) are darker dramas depicting drug use in the Sin City. *The Cooler* (2004) features William H. Macy as a gambler. However, the longest list of drama films showing Las Vegas depicts organized crime. *Bugsy* (1991), *Casino* (1995), and *The Godfather* trilogy (1972, 1974 1990). "Movies like the *Godfather* series, *Goodfellas* and *Casino* have subsequently reinforced the negative stereotype of Las Vegas" (Land & Land 1999). Other films like the two *Ocean's 11* films, *3000 Miles to Graceland* focus on committing crimes in the city. Even the showgirls of Las Vegas were placed prominently in a film, albeit a bad one in 1995's *Showgirls*.

Comedies too have used Las Vegas as a backdrop from 1992's *Honeymoon in Vegas* and *Honey I blew up the Kid*. *Viva Las Vegas* (1964) was a musical romantic comedy starring Elvis and created the city's anthem by the same name. Satire like *Mars Attacks* in 1996 found its way into Las Vegas. Chevy Chase's beloved Griswald family trekked there in 1997 and sequels *Rush Hour 2* (2001) and *Ms. Congeniality 2: Armed and Fabulous* (2000), where the final scenes featured the very pirate ships Wynn was made famous for at Treasure Island were used as weapons, were placed in Las Vegas.

A few romantic films impact Las Vegas' appearance as well. Presley's 1964 *Viva Las Vegas* with Ann Margaret, is rather well known. Matthew Perry and Selma Hayek's *Fools Rush In* takes place in Las Vegas and important scenes take place on the Hoover Dam. Robert Redford starred in both *The Electric Horseman* in 1979 and *Indecent Proposal* (2003), again not filmed entirely in Las Vegas, but it would be hard to imagine another location that would facilitate the outlandish premise of the film.

Whether one has seen none, one or many of the above films, it is hard to dismiss the impact Hollywood has in painting a city in a particular light. How those images are stored and built upon can only be speculated about at this time. It is the argument here that just as cigarette and soda companies pay to have their product placed prominently in films for their advertising value film depictions should also be considered for their role in crafting a brand for a city. Although in film, a soda can be any brand, but cities serve as the setting and play a major role in telling the narrative.

Consider the images of New York in *Taxi Driver* compared with the lighter treatments in *You've Got Mail* or *Three Men and a Cradle*. Armstrong notes, "advertising is often carefully crafted to be a conduit of culturally transmitted meanings" (1999 p268). Product placement in films is one form of advertising and should not be dismissed when constructing a destination brand. The same could be said of television depictions. Again, *the Sex and the City* treatment of New York is largely different from *NYPD Blue*'s. Both were largely successful but paint contrasting images of the city.

Las Vegas' place on television has been largely absent except for a brief run of Robert Ulrich's *Vegas* (1978-1981), until recently. *Crime Scene Investigation* known simply as *CSI* premiered on October 6, 2000 and is currently going into its seventh season and the last four

seasons held the #1 spot in the Nielsen ratings. CBS has created a series of spin-offs, *CSI: Miami* in 2002 and *CSI: New York* in 2004. It is not the argument here that the original show's placement of Las Vegas accounts in any way of the show's success but simply notes a popular series had its start in Las Vegas.

On September 22, 2003, James Caan known widely for his role as Sonny in *The Godfather* starred in a drama about security and surveillance in a casino in the show called *Las Vegas*. Important for the topic of study here is the second episode of the series was aptly titled, "What Happens in Vegas, Stays in Vegas." John Corbett starred in another television show set in Las Vegas that debuted in 2003 called *Lucky*. The dark comedy about gambling only ran eleven episodes. *CSI* and *Las Vegas* both feature frequent story lines about tourists and what befalls them in the neon city and are part of Las Vegas' appearance on the small screen. However, MTV's *The Real World*, although not as popular, also contributed to Las Vegas appearance when their 2002 season was filmed largely on the 28th floor of the Palms Hotel Casino. Recently, *E! News* has started doing features in Las Vegas that can even be viewed on the visitlasvegas.com website. A&E's new reality series about an outlandish car dealership, *King of Cars*, comes from Vegas while even *Queer Eye for the Straight Guy* has used Vegas as a backdrop.

Whether on the large or small screen, Las Vegas' appearance has ranged from the dark and depressing to the hokey and cheesy to the outright tasteless. Of the twenty-three films and seven television shows discussed here, it should be noted that twenty-three of them have been created in the last fifteen years. This might indicate less an outcome of the city's marketing efforts and more a general trend in America's appetite or tolerance for all things Vegas. The argument could be made that with a steady diet of media on the subject of Las Vegas, America was primed for the branding campaign. However, the depictions of the films impact the

appearance of the rhetor to the tourism audience. Both large and small screen depictions can be seen as free advertising for locations, but the city has no control of the way it is used as a story setting which is a rhetorical challenge.

Third, Las Vegas' introduction to the audience is rhetorically challenging because it is rooted not only in the previously discussed areas of the city's reputation and in other media depictions of the city but also in recent promotional decisions. When the campaign started Las Vegas had to contend with its own past, Hollywood's treatment of the city and even its own previous advertising endeavors. The introduction of the campaign would not be fresh or new to the American audience. Recent decisions to focus on selling to families aggravated how audiences of the branding campaign were introduced to the rhetor.

The move in the mid-nineties by individual resorts like MGM, Treasure Island and Excalibur had damaging effects to the larger identity of Las Vegas. Las Vegas as a whole was perceived as trying to clean up its image to draw in the Disney crowd. Even *Time* magazine noticed the shift in 1994 and the actions of a few became credited to the whole city and its stakeholders. Even when the branding campaign started, the shift was portrayed as the city embracing what it had once renounced when one headline read "Vegas goes back to naughty roots" (McCarthy 2005 6B). Going back to something implies that the city had tried to distance itself when in fact it did not.

Families are still a part of the Vegas scene, but a smaller part than once thought. "The LVCVA has found that although visitors with children make up only 10 percent of tourists, the city remains on the must-see list for many families. It's also near enough to places like Disneyland (265 miles away) and the Grand Canyon (275 miles away) to be included on itineraries for regional family trips" (Harpaz 2005). (The author endured one such trip through

Las Vegas in the back of a minivan in the summer of 1999. However, a rare torrential downpour in the desert city prevented the author's father from obtaining the much sought after Hard Rock T-shirt and resulted in a 4 hour traffic jam of the family trying desperately to get to out of the city.) Even the celebrity family boasting 16 children, the Duggers included the city as a stop on their TLC television program.

Trying to recover from previous advertising campaigns casts a shadow on the source's credibility. So instead of merely introducing a brand, the LVCVA was trying to recover from going after a younger, and as critics argued inappropriate for the destination, demographic. How the rhetor is introduced to the audience is not the only rhetor related challenge, the medium Las Vegas selected was also problematic.

Fourth and finally, the context of the LVCVA rhetorical is also a rhetor related obstacle. The rhetorical act was communicated through mass media. Television advertising spots accounted for most of the budget and were probably the most influential in affecting the way Americans talk about Las Vegas. Television advertising impacts Las Vegas credibility because of the expectations of the function advertising spots serve. Viewers understand the spot is goal oriented, with the goal being to provoke a purchase. The products featured in spots are for the purposes of being consumed. So cities engaging in the strategy of destination branding are seen as commodifying their communities. In the case of Las Vegas, the campaign is clearly selling experiences, but again turning experiences into commodities for profit would not lend itself to boosting credibility.

Subject Related Obstacles

Subject related obstacles are the second most problematic rhetorical challenge the campaign faced. Campbell and Huxman sub-divide subject related rhetorical obstacles into matters of complexity and cultural history. “Subjects are complex or seem so under these conditions: 1- they are remote from the audience’s personal experience, 2-they require technical knowledge or some other kind of special expertise, 3-they are bound up with many other difficult issues” (2003 p208). The subject matter of the campaign is not only the city of Las Vegas or its amenities but indulgences the city hosts. What makes the subject matter complex is not that one needs special expertise to understand what happens in Las Vegas, but that audiences may not have direct experiences to draw from and that the amenities are bound up with other issues such as legal gambling and prostitution.

“In the campaign’s sights are repeat visitors, who comprise nearly 75 percent of the destination’s annual visitor volume and those who have never traveled to Las Vegas, which the Travel Industry Association of America estimates is 59 percent of the U. S. adult population” (PR Newswire 2000). Those who have never traveled to Las Vegas only have the historical and Hollywood images of the city to view the campaign. They are what Campbell and Huxman call removed from understanding the subject matter on a direct level and their remoteness from the subject is an obstacle the campaign has to overcome.

Additionally, Las Vegas’ criminal past, gambling, topless shows and quick weddings cloud the subject matter. Asking viewers to envision enjoying themselves in such a place can quickly offend even the most tolerant of individuals. Being unable to isolate the city from those issues is another matter of subject complexity.

The cultural history of an issue can also present subject related obstacles for the rhetor. Campbell and Huxman discuss four areas concerning the cultural history of a rhetor's subject matter, subjects triggering boredom, taboo subjects, emotionally loaded subjects, and subjects that conflict with cultural values (2003 p209). In Las Vegas, all of these areas present obstacles to the rhetor.

Tourism marketing in the U.S., as a whole, had fallen into expected routines, shots of sweeping landscapes, montages of people enjoying the sights and a slogan set over background music. Las Vegas, too, had used similar formats before the branding initiative. Regardless of the excitement level of the images or music used, the format for promoting a destination was boring, because it had been overused. Any destination advertising has the boredom issue to address. The use of branding partnered with a short narrative format was a fresh treatment of the subject matter.

Not only did the campaign have to deal with the cultural history concerns of boring formulas for promotional spots but in Las Vegas much of the subject matter was taboo. One of the copywriters who coined the popular slogan commented, "we knew we couldn't show a lot of what people do in Las Vegas on prime-time TV" (Friess 2004 pA14). The third area of emotionally loaded topics stems from taboo subjects as well. For a family that has seen financial ruin at the hands of a gambling addict, promoting legalized gambling is a highly emotional issue. For Las Vegas, the rhetorical problem was how to communicate the subject matter without offending.

For American culture that still largely views the monogamous couple rearing children as the social ideal, a place where quick weddings and gambling permeates is no place for the children. Conflicting with cultural values was one of the largest rhetorical challenges relating to

the subject matter. When the campaign used emotional branding to shift the value set, it could be argued a successful strategy for overcoming this challenge was implemented.

The campaign had to confront the subject related issues of complexity in viewers remoteness from a subject matter bound up with other issues. The campaign resulted in the irony that isolating Las Vegas from its amenities turned out to benefit the amenities' business. In addressing the cultural history concerns of boring, taboo, emotionally loaded subjects that conflict with emotional values, Las Vegas might have a chance to promote the subject matter without alienating the target audience.

Audience Related Obstacles

Audience related obstacles are the third rhetorical challenge the campaign encountered. Although Campbell and Huxman identify four areas of audience related obstacles, inattention, misperception and misinterpretation, lack of motivation and inertia, misperception and misinterpretation presented the greatest audience related obstacle to Las Vegas. This is not to say the campaign did not have to capture and hold audience attention and motivate tourists to actually visit the location, but those issues are common to all forms of advertising and to all destinations.

Misperceptions and misinterpretations center around three themes, attitude, beliefs and decoding (Campbell & Huxman 2003). The audience's attitudes are derived from experiences. If they have never been to Las Vegas, they have attitudes largely formed by history and Hollywood. If they have been to Las Vegas, then they have whatever occurred in the location to shape their opinions. (Just as the author's family vacation to Las Vegas shaped the author's early

attitudes about the city). The changing landscape of resorts contributes to the attitudes of the audience.

The audience's beliefs are formed from perceptions they consider to be true. If the target audience believes Las Vegas is the Sin City, wrought with corruption, crime and sleaze it will shape the way the audience perceives the campaign. If the audience either through first hand experience or Hollywood portrayals believes the city is a place to be entertained, then they will see the campaign in a different light. The campaign faced the rhetorical challenge of how to advertise to both types of audience with the same commercial.

Julie Wolf, R&R's senior account supervisor told Brandweek in 2001, "We found that because the destination has grown so fast and the product has diversified so much, it confuses people. Even though Las Vegas is one of the strongest brands in the world, it's fragmented, and that clouds the issue for people who haven't been here in awhile" (Beirne 2001). So one challenge the destination faced was not that it had nothing to offer tourists, but that it had everything to offer tourists. Being diversified also impeded establishing a clear identity. "Las Vegas today means different things to different people and marketers find themselves hard pressed to find a core brand essence" (Beirne 2001).

How the audience decodes the message is the final area of concern in addressing audience misperceptions and misinterpretations. Audiences who can recall the push to family friendly advertising in the nineties will decode the campaign differently than those unfamiliar with the campaign. Campbell and Huxman note that several studies verify the need for stating implicit conclusions to facilitate the decoding process for audiences. Randy Snow, creative director at R&R Partners noted, "The 'What happens here, stays here' line kind of helped close

the circle conceptually” (Briggs 2004). Closing the conceptual circle also served to state an implicit conclusion about the spots because the slogan facilitated a Las Vegas friendly decoding.

Purpose Related Obstacles

Purposes related obstacles are the final rhetorical challenge identified by Campbell and Huxman, but were the least threatening of all of the rhetorical challenges discussed thus far. Because, despite all of the obstacles the city faced, the city’s purpose is a pretty easy sell. Las Vegas was seeking to increase tourism revenue and for audiences that means traveling to the location and using the amenities. Campbell and Huxman’s treatment of purpose related obstacles focus on two areas, the costs to the audience and the audience’s ability to control whether or not they agree to the rhetor’s persuasive argument (2003 p212-214).

Cost is more than merely a financial component, this purpose related challenge addresses concerns with issues relating to time, effort and convenience for tourists. Las Vegas is home to cheap prime rib specials, and lower hotel room costs that encourage tourists to spend more money in the casinos. So, Las Vegas can be an easy sell, with more hotel rooms than any other city in the US, Las Vegas also offers choice to tourists. But to address convenience concerns, Las Vegas had to make it easier to get to the location. The campaign created partnerships with leading brands in travel, sports and entertainment along with event sponsorships and international marketing programs in Europe, Asia and South America (PR Newswire 2000). However, as indicated earlier, Las Vegas already had close proximity to other travel destinations and enjoyed being another stop on road trips. Another reason cost is a concern, but not a great challenge is that for anyone who even moderately wins money from gambling in Las Vegas, they feel they are making money back on the trip.

But in order to facilitate the audience's perception of being in control of selecting Las Vegas as a destination, the campaign established a website to accompany the branding efforts. Later, the website then split into two new websites, the visitlasvegas.com site targeting tourists and the lvcva.com website to court prospective conventions and potential relocating businesses. R&R partners claims that "more than 3,900,000 people visited the redesigned website" (R&R Partners website accessed 11/28/2005). Audiences already know they are in control of selecting their vacation location, so again this was a lesser rhetorical challenge.

Las Vegas worked with airlines to make it cheaper to fly into Las Vegas for a weekend trip, not only longer vacations. Cutting travel expenses paid off for other locations. In 2005, tourists spent an "average of \$196 per trip, up from \$ 158.50 the prior year" (Jones 2005 p1D).

Although the greatest rhetorical challenges the campaign faced were matters related to rhetor related, subject, and audience related obstacles, purpose related obstacles also needed to be addressed. In addition to the rhetorical challenges to the campaign, several rhetorical opportunities were available to Las Vegas and their analysis presents further understanding of the context of culture present at the start of the branding campaign.

Rhetorical Opportunities

Brown et. al argued that a "destination might seek to change its image by using events to alter a negative aspect of its brand image" (in Morgan, Pritchard & Pride 2002 p170). The authors offer four conclusions for linking events to destination branding: create a portfolio of events across different market segments, determine how the destination is perceived in the marketplace, decide which aspects of the brand image to strengthen, enhance or change and identify the association set by which target markets are likely to encode and interpret the event

(in Morgan, Pritchard & Pride 2002 p170). Although the authors offer these as conclusions regarding the use of special events, they have implications useful in identifying the rhetorical opportunities to destinations using branding.

In order to create a portfolio capable of crossing market segments, Las Vegas had to identify those segments. Identifying those segments proved to be a challenge all on its own.

The challenge that we've always faced is how to represent Las Vegas to what is probably the most diverse visitor base of any travel destination... you know who goes to Orlando, you know who goes to New York. But here, we've had to struggle with how to advertise to young and old, the wealthy and the not-so-wealthy, middle America and urban America, male and female, white and black and everything in between. To put it simply, our constituency is every hotel and motel room in Las Vegas (Vassiliadis to the Las Vegas Mercury in 2004).

Current marketing trends suggest a focus on niche markets, segmenting and targeting segments with specialized messages and tactics, not really an option for the desert city with something for everyone. Therefore, a variety of special events were needed.

One such example comes from the very beginning of the branding initiative. When the Wilder campaign to establish a brand began, the fictional candidate gave press conferences and served as host at an Election Night event at the Fremont Street Experience that ignored what became one of the most talked about elections in recent memory. A campaign tour, minus the candidate, set up stops in fifteen cities where passers-by could stand on a platform and start their own party. In an election year, the stage was clearly set for Las Vegas to position its own definitions for “freedom” and “party” by poking fun at Washington and politics as usual. This series of special events allowed Las Vegas to play off of a political canvas rather than the

gangster or Hollywood canvas from its past. When the spot where Wilder concedes nothing aired, it really looked as though the campaign was taking its cues from Washington as the fight for the White House entered courtrooms in Florida.

Another rhetorical opportunity for the campaign centered on how the destination is perceived in the marketplace. Here the damaging images from the past presented opportunities for promotion. R&R partners articulated the opportunity in the early 2000s this way:

Las Vegas attracts more than 38.5 million visitors annually and needs to fill 127,000 rooms a night. While most people are aware of Las Vegas gaming and its historical Rat Pack heritage, there is a need to maintain constant awareness of Las Vegas as a vibrant contemporary player in the resort industry. While some general aspects of the Vegas experiences are cited by specific segments, people generally have an idiosyncratic relationship with the destination. When they think of Vegas, they tend to reflect on their own specific fantasies, expectations and assumptions (R&R Partners website, accessed 11/28/2005).

The next rhetorical opportunity meant that Las Vegas would need to decide which aspects of the brand image to strengthen enhance or change. Las Vegas had been known as the entertainment capital of the world, Sin City, the city that never sleeps, etc. therefore it needed a more centralized brand image. Las Vegas was unarguably an adult play ground; however the notion of being able to exercise adult freedom became the focus. As the CEO of R&R Partners, Billy Vassiliadis, noted, “Come here to be free, act free and feel unburdened will always be the core of the messaging” (Beirne 2004). The campaign depicted different manifestations of adult freedom but other aspects of the brand have been strengthened as well in the shopping, dining and shows featured in the Vegas Alibi campaign series. Shopping and dining were aspects Las

Vegas had never really promoted before despite a few video montage formatted spots pre-dating the campaign.

For example, in 2005, the destination brand set out to strengthen one of the associations of the target market to connect the city with shopping. “Visiting shoppers spent an estimated \$4.65 billion in Las Vegas in 2004” (Jones 2005p1D). Las Vegas spent \$260,000 for a week long special event at New York’s Fashion Week. Four scooters each towing a miniature billboard promoting shopping Las Vegas were buzzing around the streets with slogans like “Fifth Avenue’s evil twin” or “a shopping trip men will gladly go on” and the suggestive, “one person per dressing room, please”. The scooters were driven by Elvis impersonators and four showgirls passed out brochures to members of the media and celebrities in attendance (Jones 2005 p1D). Even if one missed the television spot touting that shopping could be one’s alibi in the Vegas Alibi campaign, the Fashion Week special event might have attracted attention.

The final rhetorical opportunity for the campaign was to identify the association set by which target markets are likely to encode and interpret the event, or in this case the rhetorical act. In 2000, Las Vegas enjoyed a fragmented, but relatively clear identity of what the city could offer tourists, so unlike other locations Las Vegas did not have to inform the target audience about itself, it could build upon previous introductions to the audience. Tourists traveling to Las Vegas, even for the first time, tend to have a pretty good idea of what they will find there. This is not the case in many locations, consider the author’s home town of Wichita, Kansas where no one knows what happens here and so promotional efforts are more informative than truly persuasive.

At the time, no other American locations were using branding on a national forum, using unexpected tourism marketing images and strategies. The rhetorical opportunity in 2000 was to

advertise a location without focusing on its amenities and focusing on experiences. Any location attempting to brand nationally with unconventional devices now will be seen as following Las Vegas' lead. For example, Miami was named one of 2005's brand losers (Crowley 2005).

The final rhetorical opportunity for the campaign in identifying how audiences were likely to interpret the rhetorical act came straight from research. "In focus groups consumers told us that they love to come to Las Vegas to cut loose, have fun and do things they wouldn't do back home" (R&R Partners website 2005). Focus group participants engaged in storytelling about their own experiences in Las Vegas, much like the author did earlier. Storytelling then became the strategy behind the campaign. Narratives to promote a place had never been done before and presented another unique rhetorical opportunity; a rhetorical opportunity that makes a great deal of sense given Low's work in examining how narratives contribute to humans developing attachments to places.

Destination Branding Obstacles

In addition to Brown et. al' work, destination branding faces obstacles apart from the rhetorical obstacles regardless of the city, state, region or country attempting to use branding. Anholt has identified several challenges facing global brands and many are applicable here, the most important may be objectivity (in Morgan, Pritchard & Pride 2002 p47). "It requires objectivity to an unusual degree—the ability to see yourself as others see you, and to accept that this is, at least in commercial terms, more important than the way you see yourself" (Anholt in Morgan, Pritchard & Pride 2002 p47).

Objectivity that Anholt goes on to say requires government support, constant investment in the country brand itself, that Anholt argues demands a high level of collaboration and effective

synergy from the main purveyors of the country's image in the global media. Examples of purveyors would be tourism boards, airlines, and for countries in particular, the major produce exporters (in Morgan, Pritchard & Pride 2002 p47).

Anholt notes for smaller countries and by this author's extension a city, faces challenges with the funding necessary to compete on a global stage. Another key point raised by Anholt is the challenges with nation branding are not that nations are only competing against other nations, "in competing for precious moments of the mindshare of today's message-fatigued consumer, every advertising brand is a threat, and soap powder and automobiles are as much a competitor to the small nation or region" (in Morgan, Pritchard & Pride 2002 p48). Anholt cites the effective use of the internet may be one solution to this particular challenge.

The final rhetorical challenge Anholt identifies for countries that pertains to Las Vegas is psychological in nature. Anholt calls it "a simple lack of self-confidence" (in Morgan, Pritchard & Pride 2002 p49). His example for this challenge is third-world countries afraid no consumer would feel that they have something to offer over a larger country.

To review, Anholt's common challenges to destination branding are objectivity, government support, stakeholder collaboration, adequate funding, a saturated market of all products and a lack of self-confidence. Morgan, Pritchard & Pride offer their own list of challenges: the destructive role of politics, the role of inclusive, comprehensive and ongoing market research that identifies and creates the brand values; building alliances and coalitions across stakeholder groups; and having 'brand champions' who have the vision, commitment and 'staying' power to back the development of the brand (2002 p5). Las Vegas had to address the same challenges as other locations, but because of the city's identity, the branding campaign faced additional challenges to become what Morgan and Pritchard call a brand winner. "Brand

winners are those places rich in emotional meaning, which have great conversational value and high anticipation for tourists, while brand losers have little meaning, status or emotional pull” (2002 p5).

Las Vegas had several destination branding obstacles in particular, some of which have yet to be addressed, namely a split personality.

This city is in a major transition, and as a result, we suffer from a pretty significant dual-personality disorder. On the one hand, we all intellectually understand that our taxes are low and we have great restaurants and entertainment because of the tourism economy. But on the other hand, there's a whole generation of Las Vegans that want to feel like they live in a real city. So there's that part of us that's understandably crying for legitimacy and wants to be recognized as a healthy community with good schools and parks and Little League and Scouts (Vassiliadis in Briggs 2004).

Although Las Vegas history looks more like a studio back lot than a traditional community plagued with the mundane issues of traffic and sewer lines, it is a community in the traditional sense. Las Vegas today faces three main concerns, the management of the tourism industry, an exploding population, and diminishing water.

Tourism is the major industry in Las Vegas; it “is the city’s largest employer and generates more revenue than any other industry” (World Book Online 2005). In the last thirty five years, Las Vegas’ visitor volume has risen from 6.7 million in 1970 to 38.5 million in 2005. Half of that increase has occurred since 1990 (Historical Las Vegas Visitor Statistics 2006). Aside from providing jobs, tourism allows the locals to “pay no state income or inheritance tax” (Anderson 1994 p45). A large part of the tourism business in Las Vegas stems from conventions.

“Conventions are the most stable part of the post-September 11 travel business” and Las Vegas boasts “three of the five largest meeting spaces in North America” (Greenblatt 2002). However, the tourism boom that prompted the dawn of the gigantic several thousand room resorts on the Strip has needs of its own. Las Vegas needs to fill over 200,000 rooms a night to keep the resorts in business.

As Las Vegas has enjoyed its tourism boom, the population of the city is projected to reach 3 million by the year 2020. The problem as reported by USA Today is “mountains, national parks, military bases, an Indian community and a critter called the desert tortoise (it is endangered) have Sin City hemmed in” (Ritter 2005 p3A). Las Vegas is running out of land.

The Nevada Test Site is now operated by the U.S. Department of Energy and is a major employer in the area. Nellis Air Force Base just outside the city expanded with additional military families when many bases around the country were closed in the 1990s (Land & Land 1999 p202). As the population grows, so too does the need for additional schools, parking is beginning to become a concern for resort employees and ironically the springs that started it all over a hundred years ago are at the forefront of a public debate.

Las Vegas is after all, still in a desert climate and water is being consumed at 325 gallons per person, per day. Many suggestions have been offered, one talks about building a pipeline from the Pacific Ocean but the cost would be great (Land & Land 1999 p216). Wynn, himself falls under scrutiny for being allowed to siphon water for his private golf course at no cost (Denton & Morris 2001 p380). Now it appears that the tourism the city survived on for decades will now need those vital tourism dollars to provide the water it needs to survive. It just seems difficult to justify multi-million dollar advertising campaigns when the city is facing water and population issues.

Destination Branding Opportunities

Las Vegas had several destination branding opportunities. First image clarification was needed. Second, research centered campaigns seemed to guarantee success. Third, the strong relationship between brand specialists, R&R Partners and the LVCVA had a sizeable budget at their disposal.

Although marketing to families in the nineties prompted criticism and muddied the rhetorical waters, it also served as a need for a clarification campaign. Because the misperception was out there, the destination branding initiative seemed warranted, rather than merely another location seeking additional revenue. In this way, a rhetorical challenge became a destination branding opportunity. Instead of being remembered as the Sin City that targeted families, it has become the “what happens here, stays here” place.

Research is behind most campaigns in today’s market. Television costs more than ever and reaches fewer than ever. Most advertising experts agree research can make the difference in reaching a target market. Recall how Morgan and Pritchard called for “inclusive, comprehensive and ongoing market research that identifies and creates the brand values.” The destination branding opportunity was to allow research to shape the campaign.

Finally, the Las Vegas brand specialists had a formidable budget available for their destination branding opportunity. The LVCVA had been using R&R Partners for years and their relationship itself was an incredible opportunity for destination branding. So many destinations do not have the resources or the ability to unify stakeholders to brand a destination effectively.

CONCLUSION

At the outset of the branding campaign, Las Vegas had to account for a one hundred year history, a history woven on both the large and small screens by forces outside of its control. Previous promotional efforts were coming back to haunt the city while growing resorts needed tourists to pay their mortgages. In addition to these detriments, Las Vegas could boast two things other branding destinations may not. The city had the budget to burn and a well-established knowledge base among its target audience. The next chapter provides an in-depth analysis of the television spots to identify the strategies implemented to address the obstacles and opportunities outlined here.

Chapter 3

INTRODUCTION

The methodology best suited to understanding the persuasive appeals and the multi-dimensionality of destination branding is rhetorical criticism, a process of describing, analyzing and evaluating the text to discuss its meanings for multiple publics. Although complicated relationships among stakeholders and target audiences drive many of the rhetorical and strategic decisions of a branding campaign, the campaign still relies on television spots to communicate the message. Television spots are their own form of advertising and the destination brand can not be isolated from this basic advertising form that is fundamentally persuasive rhetoric.

Campbell and Huxman (2003) identify seven general categories of descriptive analysis used in examining a rhetorical act. “Purpose” is the conclusion argued by the rhetor and the desired response from the audience. “Audience” is the receiver of the act while “persona” is the role(s) filled by the rhetor.” “Tone” is the attitude toward the subject and the audience. “Evidence” is the supporting materials used in the rhetorical act. “Structure” according to Campbell and Huxman, examines the organization of text “to gain attention, develop a case and provide emphasis” (2003 p24). The final category of descriptive analysis, “strategies” analyzes the adaptation of the first six categories in shaping the materials used to overcome rhetorical challenges (2003 p24). In order to probe the “purpose” of the campaign discourse more methodically, Campbell and Jamieson’s five aims of advertising will be used. The five aims of advertising, (1) “recognition,” (2) “differentiation,” (3) “association,” (4) “participation” and (5) “redundancy” will be applied to the campaign to identify those core advertising components and discuss their role in the construction of the destination brand.

The descriptive analysis was first conducted by dissecting the spots along the lines of “structure,” “format,” “tone,” “strategies” and “evidence” (Campbell & Huxman 2003). Then in isolating “purpose,” Campbell and Jamieson’s five aims of advertising were applied to the campaign. First the campaign will be reviewed, and then the campaign spots will be analyzed using Campbell and Jamieson’s five aims of advertising drawing from Campbell and Huxman’s pertinent elements of rhetorical action before drawing conclusions regarding the construction of the destination brand. Although six years is a rather abrupt life span for a destination brand, Las Vegas’ branding campaign has evolved over time, manifesting the brand in a number of ways. In order to better understand the branding initiative, one must begin with its origins.

CAMPAIGN OVERVIEW

The Las Vegas branding campaign was born not in the 2003 famous slogan as widely believed. The campaign’s history will be chronicled through five phases of the campaign. The primary focus of the study is on the television spots, but where appropriate the print ads and internet advertising will be noted.

Once again, it seems, Las Vegas’ history is intertwined with American history. The first phase of the branding campaign was launched in 2000 and introduced the freedom brand. This multi-tiered, integrated brand campaign represented a major shift from traditional destination marketing (PR Newswire 2000). The LVCVA launched the Las Vegas Freedom Party marketing campaign in September of 2000 complete with their own candidate, Brock Wilder, whose primary goal was to promote Las Vegas to potential tourists as a place for them to start their own party (LVCVA Names Brock Wilder Leader 2000). “The Wilder campaign got even more

mileage than R&R executives expected when the presidential campaign ran longer than anticipated with ballot-counting difficulties in Florida” (Velotta 2001).

The politically themed campaign, although the first installment of the brand, was designed as a companion campaign, but soon other spots used unusual techniques and short story lines to aid in establishing the freedom brand. The television spots featured a man wearing a parka in a cold climate adding himself to postcards of Las Vegas or a trail of discarded items leading to the “Welcome to Las Vegas” sign. One spot called “Mud Flap Girls” showed silhouettes of women jumping off of the mud flaps of a big rig onto a truck heading for Las Vegas. The first phase of the branding campaign ran for fifteen months before September 11, 2001.

Snow told *The Las Vegas Sun*, “Nineteen terrorists and four airplanes changed all the rules” (Velotta 2001). Reportedly the campaign was pulled to give the nation a chance to heal and because no location wanted to be linked to the tragedy by advertising during the round the clock coverage at such uncertain times. For two weeks, nothing was done and then Snow reports, “we did what we did before the first campaign, get a lot of research” (Velotta 2001). The agency went to the public and Snow reports “they told us that the best thing Las Vegas could be was a place for ‘crisis fatigue’...We became a freedom from the new reality” (Velotta 2001).

The second phase consisted of a 13.5 million dollar campaign set out to use the brand and a never previously recorded Frank Sinatra song, “It’s time for you” donated by the Sinatra family with proceeds from sales of the song going to the New York attack victims. Aside from showing people enjoying the city, Las Vegas celebrities donated their appearances (except for the unionized Elvis impersonators) and sang along with the song for a thirty-second spot. The

slogan, “Freedom to get away from it all” was shown for six months in areas within driving distance of Las Vegas.

In June of 2002, the third phase of the freedom brand, “Vegas Calling” centered on the city actually calling tourists away from their everyday lives. One spot showed a ringing phone and when answered, the voice said to leave right away, Vegas was calling. The tagline, “Freedom from Dullsville” accompanying the campaign also used the brand. After this campaign, research suggested a new strategy for Las Vegas.

In focus groups consumers told us that they love to come to Las Vegas to cut loose, have fun and do things they wouldn’t do back home...everyone’s expectation or experience is different...thus a strategy emerged...to portray provocative, “Only in Vegas” stories—situations that are unlikely to happen elsewhere—that purposely leave room for personal interpretation...(The goal was to) let the viewer project his/her own fantasy about Las Vegas and fill in the blanks (R&R Partners website 11/28/2005).

Then in January of 2003, Las Vegas’ brand specialists hit the advertising jackpot, with a new slogan and new television spots based on the new strategy. The two copywriters who coined the phrase noted the unusual method of the slogan’s origination. “We weren’t even really trying to come up with a slogan...Usually, you come up with a strategy, then a campaign idea, then maybe some execution ideas and then a tagline will typically come out of that.” Neither of them had lived in the city for more than two years and Candido attributes that to the slogan’s resonance with tourists. He told the *Las Vegas Mercury* in 2004, “I think it helped because we were still seeing the city like tourists...When you get to know too much about a product, I think you start being too inside, and you can’t really see it from the perspective of the people who you

are trying to address" (Briggs 2004). According to Anholt's call for objectivity and Brown et.al's four conclusions discussed in Chapter Two, the copywriter is correct.

Another ad in the multi-million dollar "Vegas Stories" series showed a teenager frantically cleaning up after a party before his parents returned home. The spot took place in suburbia and included a don't ask, don't tell moment when neither son nor parents wanted to reveal what they did over the weekend. One spot showed a conventioner leaving her quickie wedding to a younger, non-English-speaking man to get back to her convention. Another spot showed an older Chinese woman blotting out parts of a postcard she did not want the recipient to see. All of the spots featured the slogan, what happens here, stays here. Then the slogan emerged in the lexicon from Billy Crystal's use of it at the Oscars, to first Lady Laura Bush's use of the slogan on the Tonight Show with Jay Leno. It was even spoofed on Saturday Night Live. This combination of the freedom brand executed in a narrative format that only shows part of the story with the popular slogan became Las Vegas' branding formula for success.

The successful formula grew out of focus groups, surveys and interviews with repeat visitors where participants revealed how Las Vegas functioned in their lives.

When we did our research, it was no big shock to us that Las Vegas has this liberating capacity for people. They will come here and wear things and eat things and do things and see things they would never consider at home...it's resonated because this is what our visitors told us they wanted. (Snow to Thomaselli 2004).

In another interview with Adweek, Snow acknowledged that the LVCVA and R&R addressed the scrutiny of many of ads by local groups. Snow told Adweek, "There has been more

than a little discussion within the city of Las Vegas about this campaign and is this an appropriate side of ourselves we want to show to the world—and research tells us that it is” (Flass 2004). Although brand specialists have never considered changing the direction of the campaign (Flass 2004), they did pull one ad for the red fezzes the conventioners wore as being commonly associated with the Shrine of North America (Jones 2003).

In 2004, the “Vegas Stories, The Adventures Continue” branding campaign continued the use of the slogan and narrative format with a man requesting a wake-up call to his cell-phone, a couple who never checked into their hotel looking for their luggage, an older couple getting ready for a night out while lying to their adult children and the favorite among critics spot called “Silent Car.” Four women, one is wearing a veil, are riding in the back of a limo at what looks like the end of a bachelorette party and begin to laugh at one of the women, who eventually joins in the laughing. The ads aired on national cable networks including “Bravo, Comedy Central, E!, ESPN, ESPN2, Fine Living, Food Network, Fox News, MSNBC, Style, TBS, Travel Channel and VH1” (Flass 2004).

“Vegas Alibis,” a 20 million dollar campaign came out in 2005 and was more amenities focused than previous branding spots. The spots provided a way to focus on dining, shopping and shows while staying close to the suggestive nature of what happens here, stays here. In one spot a couple discusses the food they ate in Vegas making everyone at the dinner party awkwardly uncomfortable. The tagline with this phase of the campaign indicated the amenities focus with “Our fabulous dining can be your alibi.” The “Only Vegas” phase of the branding campaign from 2006 showed a woman’s friends destroying her cell phone containing photos of them from the night before, a gardener who extorts hush money from a client he recognized from a night out on the town and a woman who gives every person she meets a new female character’s

name from a television show until she meets a “Norm” and “Cliff” in Vegas. The format was the same, but the slogan became, “Only Vegas.”

The campaign is currently entering its fifth season and continues to earn industry recognition. In early 2007, The LVCVA won a platinum award for Best Overall Advertising for a Destination presented by the Hospitality Sales and Marketing Association International Awards (Knightley 2007 p4D). The campaign was selected from more than 1200 entries from 36 countries (Knightley 2007 p4D) confirming not only the campaign’s place on a national level but indicating global brands might be able to learn from Las Vegas’ destination branding efforts.

ANALYSIS

The Las Vegas Convention and Visitor’s Authority provided the author twenty-seven television spots that ran from 2000 to 2006 in both VHS and DVD formatting. Between the VHS tape featuring the Wilder campaign and the DVD containing a historical overview of the campaign assembled by the LVCVA, the author notes several spots were omitted from the DVD and thus not analyzed in this treatment. They include the third spot from the Freedom campaign with articles of clothing and a cell phone disregarded along the road leading to the Welcome to Fabulous Las Vegas sign and all three of the Vegas Calling spots. All of these spots pre-date the popular campaigns launched in 2003. While an important stage in the development of the destination brand, their omission does not impede the analysis conducted here; the author has viewed all of the spots and they do not deviate in significant ways from the rhetorical strategies utilized in the remaining spots, they were simply unavailable to the researcher at the time of this writing. (Note the author has assigned some names to spots when the name could not be discerned, for a complete list of all of the spots see Appendix 2.)

In targeting the critical 59% of the population who had never been to Las Vegas (PR Newswire LVCVA Names Brock Wilder Leader 2000), the campaign had multiple goals, to increase visitor volume, increase visitor spending, update the image of the city, position the city as a viable choice for vacationers, etc. Campbell and Jamieson provide rhetorical valence for these economic goals with the five aims of advertising “recognition,” “differentiation,” “favorable associations,” “participation” and “redundancy.”

Recognition

Campbell and Jamieson argue that “product recognition” occurs through trademarks, packaging and slogans. They define a trademark as, “a symbol—sometimes verbal, sometimes visual, sometimes both—that tells the consumer who makes the product” (2001 p216). For the Las Vegas destination the trademarks were fragmented images from its history. The Welcome to Fabulous Las Vegas sign, Vegas Vic and other images only found in Las Vegas served as trademarks. Most of those trademarks were packaged by Hollywood in various film and television creations. Las Vegas had also packaged its own trademarks in tourism marketing campaigns. Those efforts had a combined effect in that most Americans were already able to recognize the city for what it had to offer. The branding campaign, however, took a more aggressive role in “recognition”. The trademark shifted from specific amenities to a particular kind of tourism experience.

The rhetorical act of the campaign served as new packaging designed to create excitement and interest in the trademark. Destination branding researchers already place heavy emphasis on getting a branding campaign right because the campaign serves as packaging for the location just as the coca-cola bottle shape helps to identify the product to consumers. “Packaging

is another potent means of identification” (Campbell and Jamieson 2001 p218). Whatever identifies the campaign will in turn identify the location. In the case of Las Vegas, changing the packaging to help clarify previous marketing missteps explains some of the success of the campaign because, “changes in packaging can increase an ad’s effectiveness by more than 45 percent” (1982 Advertising Age in Campbell & Jamieson 2001 p218). Locations can not be physically packaged, but they can be packaged in two places, the campaign and the mind of the viewer.

The relationship between campaign and viewer is a complicated one. So complicated, that in today’s consumer market, more campaigns fail than succeed in even starting a relationship. Creating a strong slogan is one tool, if not *the* tool, to initiate the campaign/viewer relationship. Campbell and Jamieson qualify strong slogans from weak ones with their definition, “an effective slogan summarizes the ad and provides a memory peg on which the name of the product is hung” (2001 p219). Would Nike be Nike without “just do it”? Would Campbell’s soup be Campbell’s soup without “Mm...Mm...good”? One may never know because one now identifies one with the other.

In the Las Vegas freedom branding campaign, the slogan evolved over time, beginning with “what you want, when you want” to “Only Vegas” before finding a truly memorable peg. The “what happens here, stays here” slogan separate from the branding campaign is worthy of its own treatment because it achieved what only a handful of slogans do, permeating the population at large. “In addition to identifying a product and helping to differentiate one from another, a slogan may transcend the ad and enter the vocabulary through which we think about and discuss our lives” (Campbell and Jamieson 2001 p219). Even though the expression existed prior to the campaign, traveling salesmen used the expression to conceal what happened on their road trips,

the transcendence of the slogan also transcended Las Vegas into those daily discussions. “It’s not a totally new phrase, but they’re bringing it into the forefront of public awareness in a new way” (George Belch in Friess 2004 pA14). By permeating those daily discussions, the campaign and slogan took a taboo city and made it fodder for casual conversations.

Differentiation

Besides product “recognition”, Campbell and Jamieson argue advertising aims to differentiate one product or ad from other. The authors cite Rosser Reeves’ notion of a “unique selling proposition” as an example of “differentiation”. Unlike the pizza war between Papa John’s and Pizza Hut, Las Vegas never names the other locations it is competing with by name. In a few subtle places “differentiation” occurs. In Mud Flap Girls, the silver silhouettes jump off a truck with New Jersey plates. The Arctic Man spot differentiates based on climate and the Wilder campaign paints Las Vegas as a stark contrast to Washington D.C. Two other spots prior to the 2003 campaign position Las Vegas opposite from Hollywood in an Oscars commercial and Houston in an NFL commercial. Such named “differentiation” is a rarity and most of the television spots are differentiating Las Vegas not from particular alternate locations but against all other possible locations.

Association

As a subset of “differentiation”, Campbell and Jamieson argue advertisers use favorable “associations” to further the “differentiation”. “Advertisers attempt to associate their products with a slogan, a trademark, or trade character and a package; then they try to associate the product, slogan, package, trademark and trade character with positive experiences” (2001 p222)

turning “wants” into “needs”. Recall Parente’s brand continuum (2000), turning a luxury into a necessity is what Parente would argue is “brand insistence.” Meaning that given the choice, one would select their preferred brand over another, cheaper or even better quality product. Such illogical choices are justified because to the consumer the choice is based on the satisfaction incurred by meeting their needs. Campbell and Jamieson go on to argue that the positive experience, “must be one we would like to share” and “different from and better” than any competitors, thus making materialism=needs.

The television spots use a wide variety of “favorable associations” from Sinatra to the sexual. Sexual associations are used in the campaign but are largely ambiguous. The campaign usually partnered sexual associations with the awkward. For example, the Vegas Stories spot, Limo uses not only the association with a sexually aroused woman to create interest in the spot but how the driver is made to feel awkward becomes the point of drawing interest into the spot. Similarly in Dining, a couple uses sexually suggestive voice tones and body language to make their fellow dinner partygoers awkwardly uncomfortable. The same is true with the Wedding Chapel spot when the woman quickly marries and leaves a young Spaniard for her convention. Each pairing of sex with the awkward incorporates a sensual component. In Dining, the focus is on taste in the other two, the women comment on smells. Even the sexual tension tied to an awkward social situation becomes a persuasive argument for not just visiting but experiencing Las Vegas. (See Appendix 3, Figures 3.1, 3.2, 3.7).

In the connection of sensual components with sexual components the campaign invites an experiencing of Las Vegas not merely visiting Las Vegas. Pleasure, as can be found only in Las Vegas as the spots suggest, translates into fulfilling one’s sense of well-being. The spots proffer a sensual, highly sexualized type of satisfaction that is a first for tourism marketing. Consider the

difference between Las Vegas' spots and the more romanticized images of a couple swinging in a hammock or walking hand in hand along the beach at sunset in many Caribbean island marketing campaigns. Las Vegas' use of sensual references invites the conclusion that Las Vegas offers sexual and sensual satisfaction.

Despite the widespread criticism of the campaign for its highly sexualized themes in spots like Limo and Dining, the majority of spots used the theme of friendship more prominently and more frequently than its sexual associations indicating the campaign targets social needs over sexual needs. Ten spots used friends enjoying or preparing to enjoy the city as compared to five spots using couples or six spots focusing on the individual experiences of Las Vegas. The individual spots came early in the brand development and recently spots have focused more on friends. Building on the association with friends in spots like Silent Car, Bachelor Party, and Name Game, the spots position Las Vegas as a place where groups of friends young (Voicemail) and old (Conventioneers) can create shared experiences among their group. This is a savvy marketing association. A circle of friends would have to spend more on a weekend trip to Las Vegas than a couple would; it is simple math, Las Vegas would rather have the cost of two or three hotel rooms versus one.

Abraham Maslow's psychology theory, widely known as the "hierarchy of needs" (1943), places social needs higher than sexual needs. Although bachelor and bachelorette parties are rife with sexual associations, they satisfy a greater need, social connections. When the website touts the locale as a bachelor and bachelorette party headquarters, it furthers the "association" by positioning the location as the pre-eminent place for the quintessential friendship ritual. The campaign crafts the proposition that Las Vegas is to be experienced with

friends. Such “associations” prompt tourists to consider Las Vegas is the destination capable of satisfying social needs.

Participation

Campbell and Jamieson’s next aim of advertising, “participation” is perhaps the key element in explaining Las Vegas’ success. “By involving us in the creation of the meaning of the ad, an advertiser can increase the likelihood that we will identify with the experience portrayed in the ad” (Campbell and Jamieson 2001 p222). The authors argue that advertisers encourage “participation” in the spot by identifying with ad characters, the spots reference to significant life experiences and by making the audience an accomplice (2001 p222-5). Note Campbell and Jamieson’s definition of “participation” contains the notion of identification. Kenneth Burke understood identification to be at the core of persuasion.

Burke describes the relationship between identification and persuasion in the following manner: “a speaker persuades the audience by the use of stylistic identifications; his act of persuasion may be for the purpose of causing the audience to identify itself with the speaker’s interests” (1950 p46). Persuasion fails if the audience disassociates from the speaker or the subject matter. One way a speaker prevents disassociation, and thereby creates identifications, is by drawing attention to shared characteristics of the speaker with the audience. Another form of creating identifications with the audience is by conveying the speaker has experiences the audience has also experienced. Audiences construct their realities through this process of identification/persuasion.

The spots use actors in all but four of the spots. Two spots use video montages featuring black and white footage of Frank Sinatra and current headliners of Vegas acts, these were the

spots created immediately following 9-11, which may explain the different format. The other two spots used rolling text partnered with images and were the “differentiation” spots of the NFL and Oscars discussed earlier. The remaining spots used actors in various situations, but several key themes emerged facilitating audience identification.

First, both genders were represented equally in terms of numbers but women (Silent Car, Name Game, Bachelor Party) and minorities (Boxing, Shows) were more likely to be featured in groups than Caucasian male characters were. Although Caucasian men between the ages of 21 and 40 served as main characters with a higher frequency than any other group, other minorities were featured. The previously mentioned Spaniard was used primarily as a sexual object. An Asian woman starred in one spot as an elderly woman blotting out what she wrote on a postcard. A European couple starred in Luggage and a European woman starred in Limo, although when she was behaving more sexually, she was depicted as more American. In the spots, the audience associates with the ad characters through the same American stereotypes present in other advertising spots.

The majority of actors in the spots are depicted as being between the ages of 21 and 40. The second most depicted group is those aged 41 to 60. Only one person under the age of 20 was used in the Suburbs spot as the son of the parents who had visited Vegas. Less than five actors were over the age of sixty, suggesting the use of actors in the campaign who visually represent a particular age range indicates the target demographic for Las Vegas. These age categories are quite broad, but as indicated in an earlier chapter, the target audience covers a wide range of gender, age and ethnic demographics. Confirming this finding, Brandweek in 2004 revealed the age specifics of the target market. “A primary target was defined as 25-54 year-olds with

household incomes over \$40,000 who took two vacations in the past year...additional efforts would hone in on 25-34 year olds” (Beirne 2004).

Most of the spots do not depict major life experiences like life and death, as Campbell and Jamieson use as an example (2001 p 223). The only significant life example is the quickie wedding depicted in Wedding Chapel and that experience is treated as a deviation from “normal life” and not a life event. So the significant experiences depicted in the spots are tourist experiences, the type of experience one would recall from a trip. “When advertisers re-create such important moments for us, they invite us to identify with their creation, to invest it with our own experience or the experience we hope to have” (Campbell & Jamieson 2001 p223). In the campaign, the tourist experience is significant and the situations the actors find themselves in serve as vehicles for audience “participation”, vehicles that require the audience to enter the situation.

Entering the situation is what Campbell and Jamieson call making the audience an accomplice. Campbell and Jamieson state that this can be done through simple devices such as a rhetorical question or the more complex “forcing of inferences by the use of visual images” (2001 p224). Campbell and Jamieson go on to identify multiple means for advertisers to make the viewer an accomplice. The campaigns at different times employed such methods as creating double entendres, using a phrase outside of its normal context, creating questionable grammatical constructions, manipulating by saying the ad is not manipulative and using humor.

The Republican Party. The Democratic Party. Let me tell you something about those parties—they’re not even real parties. Did you ever go to one of their meetings? Half the time they don’t even have chips and stuff and when they do they’re not that good. But the Las Vegas Freedom Party is a party and it’s in Las

Vegas, the home of freedom. Where you can do what you want, when you want.

So come to Las Vegas, join a real party. (A women approaches Wilder and

smiles) Constituents. (“Chair” from the 2000 LVCVA Freedom video)

Creating a double entendre of the word *party* made the audience accomplices in denouncing political parties as “real parties” in an election year. This prompted the audience to “fill in a second meaning” (Campbell and Jamieson 2001 p225) and allow Las Vegas to shape images of Washington D.C.

Before addressing the additional ways the campaign makes the viewer an accomplice, a brief discussion of definitions is required. Aristotle identified two general modes of persuasion, the example and the enthymeme (1954 p11). Enthymeme is a less implicit form of persuasion whereby not all of the steps leading to the conclusion (argument) need to be laid out for the audience. Aristotle argued there are two types of enthymemes, the demonstrative and the refutative. Only the former is pertinent here. A demonstrative enthymeme is “formed by the conjunction of compatible propositions” and the propositions need not be implicitly stated by the speaker. As Campbell & Jamieson note, enthymemes in an advertising context are “a partial or incomplete argument that prompts the audience to complete it with whatever the audience already knows, believes, or values” (2001 p234). Enthymemes create a rhetorical shorthand inviting deeper “participation” from the audience similar to Campbell and Jamieson’s notion of creating viewer accomplices.

Using a phrase outside of its original context is the second way the campaign makes the viewer an accomplice. Before the campaign, the slogan had been used in a different context not directly tied to any one location but to the experience on wanting to avoid discussing what one did on the road or on shore leave. The campaign spots never used the city’s name in the slogan

but the slogan is often changed to include Las Vegas by name. Campbell and Jamieson explain that “employing a phrase outside of its normal context to induce the audience to ask how, if at all, that phrase can be applied to the product” (2001 p225).

The terms “what” and “here” are vague terms both used twice in the slogan that the spots allow the viewer to define. Campbell and Jamieson argue that, “in the process of untangling the statement’s meaning, the audience draws a new meaning from the words” (2001 p225). In untangling the questionable grammatical construction of the slogan to create meaning for the vague terms, many viewers have changed “here” to Vegas in particular. The treatment of the word “what” has come to have connotations of meaning something the speaker of the phrase does not wish to speak of in the particular. Some have attached sexual and criminal connotations to the word “what” in the slogan as well. Ambiguity in the Las Vegas case, fuels the enthymeme’s response and invites identification.

Vassiliadis, CEO of R&R Partners, felt the advertorial ambiguity was a useful strategy in reaching a demographically diverse market (Briggs 2004). This exemplifies Campbell and Jamieson’s argument that advertisers rely on “our willingness to invest messages with meaning to induce us to hear stronger claims than those actually being made” (2001 p247). Copywriter, Jeff Candido told the *Las Vegas Mercury* “I think it's hilarious because anyone who sees anything salacious or sexy or perverted in any of these ads is only seeing it in their own heads. That's what makes me laugh whenever people talk about how scandalous they are. It's like, ‘You know what? You're the perv that's making them scandalous’” (Briggs 2004). The ambiguity of the ad makes the viewer an accomplice in the creation of meaning in the ad. Ad creators strive for ads that mean different things to different viewers. Viewers feeling invested in the ad and identifying with the ad’s message requires a higher level of rhetorical sophistication.

For Las Vegas, what the audience already knew comes largely from the mediated images of Las Vegas from Hollywood and its sordid history. In this case, those previous images helped complete the argument while allowing the LVCVA a safe haven from being seen as exploiting the seedy image of the city. They used negative associations via enthymeme to evoke favorable “associations” for the audience.

The campaign also makes the viewer an accomplice by manipulating the viewer to believe that “unlike other ads, this one isn’t manipulative” (Campbell and Jamieson 2004 p225). The rhetors argue that the spots depictions are accurate revealing that although destination advertising is supposed to promise the perfect trip, Las Vegas unabashedly promises a less than perfect trip, losing your luggage because you became so wrapped up in the city, getting married while attending a convention, paying for a hotel room you may not sleep in, doing things you can not tell your teenager when you return home, etc. By promising a less than perfect trip, unlike other venues boasting breathtaking golf courses, abundant buffets, luxurious pools, Las Vegas promises a unique experience, a more real, authentic experience. “When a product fails to deliver on its advertisers’ promises, customers do not purchase it a second time” (Campbell & Jamieson 2001 p247) and Las Vegas is using less than perfect trips as an insurance policy for the repeat visitor. Consider if one is promised a perfect trip and everything goes wrong, they will associate the location with those experiences. However, if something goes wrong on a trip to Las Vegas, the spots ask the viewer to associate the negative experience as something incurred as part of having a good time in Vegas.

The manipulation that invites viewer “participation” is that unlike other destination branding options, Las Vegas is selling a truthful experience. “Advertising is not simple manipulation, but what ad-maker Tony Schwartz calls ‘partipulation,’ with the audience

participating in its own manipulation” (Jhally in Dines & Humez 2003). The spots encourage the viewer to construct the meaning of the ad and then construct a trip to experience the attached meaning, albeit in their own, less glamorous terms. “For a mother of two, the line ‘what happens in Vegas, stays in Vegas’ can only mean that you’d rather forget that your kid threw up on a thrill ride here” (Harpaz 2005).

The spots’ use of humor also makes the audience an accomplice. For the spot to be humorous, the viewer must attach the humor to the situation because it is not implicitly stated in the spot. One must see the 60 plus Asian woman doing something inappropriate to find her blotting out a postcard of what she did in Las Vegas as funny. (See Appendix 3, Figure 3.6) “The person who laughs at a scenario sketched by an admaker has granted the assumptions underlying the script. The audience member and the creator of the ad are in effect laughing together” (Campbell and Jamieson 2001 p226). When a viewer fails to laugh with the creator, the ad misses its mark, which is why the Conventioneers spot was pulled to avoid offending a particular group.

The type of humor used ranges from the political metaphors in the Wilder campaign to the sexual conversation at a dinner party. Geographical humor in Arctic Man was simpler than the juxtaposition humor of a groom thanking his friends for a wild time in Las Vegas when his future bride also appears in Vegas with her friends. Most of the ads use of situational humor is used to conceal behavior like a grandmother lying to her adult daughter about her plans for a night out in Vegas or admit to wild behavior when the European couple enlists the help of a bell hop to find their luggage. (See Appendix 3, Figure 3.5) “Rhetors have recognized that humor is a means of disarming an audience’s defenses” (Campbell & Jamieson 2001p 226). If Las Vegas can disarm their target audience, it makes the audience an accomplice in creating the meaning of

the ad which serves to invest the audience in the created meaning. If one enjoys a spot, they are less likely to criticize the destination for packaging and selling a community.

Besides Campbell and Jamieson's methods for inviting an audience to participate in constructing the meaning of the ad, the campaign's use of narrative is one of the savviest means of audience "participation" seen in television spots in recent memory. At times, the use of narrative in the spots is downright subversive. Before discussing the role narrative plays in inviting the Las Vegas campaign viewer to participate in meaning construction, narrative must be defined because narratives are more than just stories.

Hart & Daughton argue "narratives do advance persuasion (1) because they disarm audiences by enchanting them, (2) they awaken within audiences' dormant experiences and feelings, and (3) they thereby expose, subtly some sort of propositional argument" (2005 p88). The authors continue that: narrative doesn't argue...obviously. Moreover, Walt Fisher's narrative paradigm (1985) argues that humans are storytelling creatures and that all good narratives contain two qualities: fidelity ("the degree to which it accords with the logic of good reasons" (1985 p349) and coherence ("the question of whether or not a story coheres...whether or not the story is free from contradictions (1985 p349). He argues narratives have a universal appeal, meaning rhetors targeting different audiences can benefit from using this classic form. The Las Vegas spots are narratives that are persuasive rhetorical acts but are a more subtle type of argument capable of reaching mass audiences.

Grossberg et.al state that narratives are the "most common codes of the media" and are often found in advertisements (2006 p170). The authors argue "narrative theory...is primarily a way of examining how a story is told and figuring out what difference it makes that it is told one way and not another" (2006 p174). The use of narrative in television spots is not new. The

vignette approach “directly sell(s) feeling and emotion rather than products” (Jhally in Dines & Humez 2003).

In selling feelings and emotions, narratives as they are used by the Las Vegas campaign require the audience to participate in more than just constructing the meaning of the word “what” or the slogan, but also in the completion of the narrative. Spots were examined for high, moderate or low levels of “participation” in order to complete the narrative meaning how much of the action in Las Vegas was implicit and how much of the action had to be inferred by the audience. An interesting trend emerged. Early narratives used in establishing the brand were more implicit. The initial freedom campaign with Mud-Flap girls and Arctic Man, the Las Vegas Freedom Party campaign and the post 9-11 campaigns were more implicit narratives beckoning tourists to Las Vegas. The narratives were more traditional in their construction. They occurred in normal time had clear beginnings, middles and ends in each one. As the branding campaign continued to evolve over time, the narratives were chopped up and only one portion of the narrative was shown.

Over ten of the spots identified as containing narratives were spots showing the end of the narrative, meaning the events in Las Vegas had already taken place. The Vegas Alibi campaign and the spot Suburbs depicted tourists after they returned home. In spots like Silent Car, whatever the women were laughing about had occurred before the viewer began watching their narrative, leaving up to the viewer to determine what social blunder had befallen the woman. Five spots’ narratives showed the beginning of the narrative before any action in Las Vegas had taken place like Voicemail, Grandparents, Wake-Up Call, here the viewer has to decide what activity the actors are about to engage in while in Las Vegas.

Only one spot, Name Game, showed the actors enjoying Las Vegas. This spot had significantly more scenes than the other spots. This spot relied heavily on the audience's recognition of various television shows to understand the humor of a woman giving a different name to every man she met in Las Vegas. This spot was also the only montage format used since the post 9-11 spots featuring Frank Sinatra and represented a break from the pattern of spots in the Vegas Stories series of campaigns. It is also the only spot in the Vegas Stories series where clear physical landmarks in Las Vegas are shown. (See Appendix 3, Figure 3.9) The other narratives occur in non-descript locations such as hotels, airports, airplanes, cabs, limos and hotel pools. All scenes common to the tourist experience. Even when the world-famous lights of the neon cities are shown, they are hazier, either reflecting off of a car or shown in the distant background behind a character. (See Appendix 3, Figure 3.4)

By carefully choosing which part of the narrative is shown, the campaign strategically places the tourist experience at the center of the campaign and invites the audience to construct their own individual meaning of the narrative. The lighting in the spots is largely dark, even when the action takes place in morning light the rooms are dark and light is used to draw attention to the faces of the actors. (See Appendix 3) The amount of spoken dialogue also centered on the tourist experience. The Suburbs spot used silence and only twenty words of spoken dialogue to connect with parents who had ever had a child answer a question with the ominous, "nothing." So first, the viewer is disarmed because they are enchanted with the familiar situation and its inherent humor. Then, they are awakened to their dormant feelings of how they could behave without their modern responsibilities which raises the ultimate propositional argument. This particular narrative subtly argues Las Vegas is the place for adults to behave like teenagers and parents need not feel guilty. By using narratives, Las Vegas can say "come to

Las Vegas” without participating in the tired destination promotional rut of saying “come to Las Vegas.”

Due the widely diversified demographic target audience, one narrative, no matter how ambiguous, can not reach everyone. So the Vegas Stories formula of thirty second vignettes showing usually the post Las Vegas tourist in awkward social situations was crafted. Las Vegas repeated it almost exactly in four campaigns. The “what happens here stays here” slogan was used in all of the spots except for the Vegas Alibi campaign. At the writing of this paper the same format with the original slogan of what happens here stays here and the Vegas Alibi slogan formulas of “Our fabulous dining can be your alibi” are being used simultaneously.

Redundancy

Campbell and Jamieson’s final aim of advertising focuses on using repeated claims and repeated exposure to embed the advertiser’s message in the audience’s memory, but this is only because it draws from the aim of “participation”. “Once the product’s name and slogan have been deeply embedded in the audience’s memory, the advertiser can enlist the audience as an accomplice in filling one or the other into the ad, thus heightening audience participation and the persuasive impact” (Campbell & Jamieson 2001 p229). This connection between “participation” and “redundancy” might explain why the slogan, when used outside of the spots is changed to include Las Vegas by name. The audience is filling in the product of the slogan, a connection Las Vegas has never made. The product (Las Vegas) is filled into the slogan (what happens here, stays here).

Campbell and Jamieson note that this final aim of “redundancy” brings the previous aims to a conceptual close, “repetition ensure that the ad reaches the consumer with a message that

creates product *recognition*, *differentiates* the product from its competitors, *associates* the product with favorable experiences and *repeatedly* involves the audience in creating the ad's meaning" (2001 p230). For example, a print ad showing a close-up photograph of a lint roller with glitter, feathers and fake eyelashes stuck to it with the slogan was not created to target a homosexual demographic, but was found to be a favorite among homosexual groups because the narrative created by the viewer reflected their personal experiences. (See Appendix 3, Figure 3.3) The group gave the print ad greater meaning and led to the print ad being run in magazines targeted to homosexual demographics (Randy Snow's presentation to the American Advertising Federation of Wichita March 7, 2006).

With the enormous budget at its disposal, the branding campaign was able to increase exposure and maintain a relationship with the greater population. Using the same format and the same slogan over several years on a variety of channels achieved "redundancy" while introducing a new narrative kept the message from becoming stagnated. Chapter Four employs content analysis to track how the slogan was repeated in the media discourse created by the campaign to offer additional insights into how the relationship between the brand and the culture was maintained.

CONCLUSIONS

The analysis of the television spots using Campbell and Jamieson's five aims of advertising leads to several conclusions about how destination brands should be constructed. The aims revealed several key strategies of the Las Vegas campaign. The focusing on tourist experiences, reducing the role of amenities and using narrative strategically are strategies Las Vegas used to construct its destination brand. The television spots relied heavily on identifying

with the audience and using those identifications via enthymeme to strengthen the emotional and cultural relationship between the viewer and the city of Las Vegas.

Tourist experiences were used at the forefront of the spots. The experiences were highly individualized in nature. Most narratives took place after the trip as a recall of a memory created in Las Vegas. The audience shares in a memory recall with the tourist that will more closely resemble their own memory recall of visiting the destination. Video montages of sweeping landscapes may be visually stimulating but most tourists will not take helicopter mental snapshots on a trip. Their experiences with a location are on a more organic level in less exotic settings, hotel lobbies, taxi cabs and hotel rooms. The sensual connections of taste and smell identified in the sexually suggestive ads are a representation of the organic level of tourism experience rather than the pastoral images offered in most destination marketing efforts. While destination branding researchers have argued the key to building a brand is to accurately reflect the location and the experiences tourists are likely to have to avoid disconnecting the audience's experience from the promised one in the ad, few locations have actually approached constructing the destination brand advertising largely from the tourist's perspective.

Showcasing the various amenities a destination has to offer has been a favorite method of enticing tourists to a particular destination. So much so, that focusing on amenities has created a visual advertising rut for destination marketing lacking the rhetorical prowess to truly entice audiences. Liberating close ties to amenities presents destinations a break from the traditional. However, most stakeholders shudder at such notions of not pre-eminently positioning their properties to potential tourists. By shifting associations, the campaign turns the want to see the new mega-resort into the need to escape from daily pressures. A tourist has an easier time

reconciling the price paid for a night at the resort with addressing a need rather than a want. The campaign created “favorable associations” by reducing the role the amenities played.

By allowing the destination brand to focus on experiences and not particular amenities in Las Vegas, the branding campaign benefited those locations. The point of sale for most tourists occurs far away from the Strip in the homes and in their heads. Reaching potential tourists where they live and work is key to making the tourism sale. If the potential tourist cannot reconcile their images of a location with their own experiences and values to get them on the plane or bus, no single amenity within that location may be capable of getting the tourist to consider the destination. One example of an exception would be Disney. Disney’s magic is not connected to Tinkerbell but its ability to prompt travel to cities for its particular amenities. Las Vegas stakeholders agreed to the rhetorical gamble as a whole and all of the resorts, restaurants and casinos shared in the tourism increases the campaign prompted. Other locations may be encouraged to liberate ties to amenities in favor of experiential associations.

The analysis of the Las Vegas branding television spots revealed the highly strategic use of narratives in representing tourist experiences and “arguing...not obviously” to audiences to travel to Las Vegas. If a destination constructing a brand is contemplating the use of narrative, it would be prudent to consider two rhetorical choices in the construction of their narratives, showing incomplete narratives and careful selection of which part of the narrative is depicted.

Showing an incomplete narrative, as Las Vegas did, allows the mass audience to construct individual meanings with the same spot. By leaving much of the story open to the audience’s interpretation the mass media could be maximized for individual points of contact with potential tourists, creating a more financially favorable use of the media budget. However, using incomplete narratives are not without risk. Narrative ambiguity allowed for a seedier

interpretation of the spots and prompted criticism of the spots from local residents initially. As Las Vegas' tourism numbers climbed, most local resistance was silenced with arguments that the campaign worked and even helped the Las Vegas tourism economy recover faster post 9-11. If a campaign fails to have similar justifications, incomplete narratives could become a costly risk in constructing a destination brand particularly if local residents object to the narratives.

The second rhetorical choice for a destination constructing a brand, once the decision to use incomplete narratives has been made, is which part of the narrative should be depicted. This choice should be made strategically as well. Las Vegas used the ending portion of a narrative about what the character in the ad experienced in Vegas. However, one spot showing a man getting ready for a night out in Las Vegas by requesting a wake-up call to his cell phone was extremely popular. After the spot aired, hotels reported tourists were now calling the front desk to request such wake-up calls (Randy Snow's presentation to the American Advertising Federation of Wichita March 7, 2006). This spot showing the first part of the narrative served as a sort of manual of how to behave in Las Vegas. Although it was a un-intentioned consequence of the spot, it suggests the use of the beginning, middle or end of a narrative may provoke different outcomes in the construction of meaning and needs to be chosen carefully. Consider if the spot showed a wake-up call to the man's cell phone instead of him making the request. Front desk clerks may not have had tourists requesting wake-up calls in the manner the commercial suggested.

The textual analysis of the branding spots also revealed the presence of Burke's notion of identification and Aristotle's notion of enthymeme, both seminal aspects of persuasion. Their pairing in the thirty-second spots may explain why the spots were so successful in increasing tourism rates and provoking behavioral changes in tourists. Identification can stand alone as a

form of persuasion particularly when Burke notes that “often we must think of rhetoric not in terms of some one particular address, but as a general body of identifications that owe their convincingness much more to trivial repetition and dull daily reinforcement than to exceptional rhetorical skill” (1950 p26). Identification achieved through redundancy; it seems to argue that Campbell and Jamieson’s aim of “redundancy” should be considered carefully. Some tourists may never have been able to reconcile their beliefs and values about Las Vegas before the spots aired over and over again influencing their Las Vegas identifications.

Influencing identifications with the use of enthymeme in a narrative that lasts no longer than thirty seconds would indicate some rhetorical skill contrary to Burke’s understanding of identification alone. By using what Fisher calls a universal form of communication, potential tourists hesitant to consider Las Vegas as a vacation destination were now able to identify with the characters in the spots because they were asked to attach the meaning thus identifying with what Las Vegas could offer them: a physical destination capable of satisfying their social needs.

Conducting a rhetorical analysis of the branding campaign has provoked new insights into the construction of a destination brand. Rhetorical analysis identifies strategies that may increase the likelihood of brand resonance for destinations using branding including the pairing of several forms of persuasion. However, rhetorical analysis as a methodology has not been widely utilized up to this point. The findings here suggest rhetorical analysis can be used to identify subtle persuasive arguments in the communication of the destination brand. Given multiple persuasive strategies were found, the multi-dimensionality of destination brands is confirmed. Outside of destination branding, the television spots represent another instance of rhetorical criticism’s ability to “unpack a text” to gain understanding about the sophisticated rhetorical methods employed in modern day advertising.

Chapter 4

INTRODUCTION

To address the relationship between culture and branding, beyond what textual analysis offers, a suitable level of analysis is required that examines the discourse precision surrounding the brand. Content analysis of the use of the slogan by the media offers a quantitative method amassing text production and interpretation. This final level of analysis builds on the insights gleaned from contextual and textual treatments in previous chapters in several ways.

First, if indeed the narratives served as a vehicle for changing the way people “talk about place,” multiple incidents of the slogan should be found in the media in both print and broadcast. Print and broadcast media may indicate differences in the use of the slogan in creating texts that interpret the city and other events.

Second, the slogan’s break from the campaign spots and emergence into the lexicon represents a rare opportunity for destination branding research to study how a destination brand impacts culture. Content analysis provides additional levels of understanding destination branding because not all destination brands result in the type of popularity attained by Las Vegas. In the case of Las Vegas, measures of success have already been taken by the LVCVA, so the research is not concerned with proving effectiveness, rather it can focus on explaining the success.

Third, content analysis provides additional validation for the findings from the rhetorical analysis in chapter three. Content analysis provides additional measures of the slogan that are not dependent on the interpretive skills of the researcher. The media is one form of documented cultural treatments of the slogan available for analysis. Content analysis of national online news indices allows destination branding research to examine the national cultural treatment of the

slogan versus a more isolated treatment when seeking insight into text production and interpretation of the slogan in the lexicon.

Fourth, content analysis of the media discourse produced by the campaign may explain how the rhetorical strategies transferred to the media's treatment of the city in general and the campaign in particular. Of particular interest in this study is whether the traditional connotations of Las Vegas' past and the narratives' de-emphasis of amenities carried over in the media. Content analysis of the past images' treatment indicates how insulating the brand was. Content analysis also provides the means for indicating whether individual amenities were rewarded for being willing to reduce their role in the advertising spots. Overall, content analysis of the media discourse should help in suggesting how a destination brand should be evaluated beyond counting tourists and their spending habits.

RESULTS

The exact phrase "what happens here, stays here" (minus the comma and quote marks that appear here) was entered as the only search term in the guided search feature of the Lexis-Nexis database in two main categories: newspaper articles and broadcast transcripts. Lexis-Nexis divides US News into four main geographic regions of the United States resulting in four different article samples: Northeast (29 hits), Midwest (20 hits), Southeast (31 hits), & Western (107 hits). After eliminating duplicates and articles that did not contain a word-for-word use or variation of the slogan, 119 articles were deemed appropriate for coding.

Using the same guided search feature instead of US News, broadcast transcripts were searched using the exact same phrase of the slogan, resulting in 411 hits. Again duplicates and transcripts that the database selected that contained close phrasing but not occurrences of the

slogan were eliminated, leaving 114 transcripts to be coded. From the 233 articles/transcripts, 335 uses of the slogan were identified by coders¹ as containing the necessary parallel wording to represent a use of the slogan.

Both news articles and broadcast transcripts were narrowed by the guided search engine to occurring on or after January 1, 2000 until December 31, 2006, to cover the same time frame as when the television spots were aired. Although the slogan was not used until 2003, including the years from 2000-2003 would also indicate if the expression was being used in the media and how prior to the campaign's use of the expression. One incident prior to 2003 was found in a sports story that did not follow the parallel structure of the slogan and was eliminated. The article stated that what happened during the game would stay on the field. Therefore, only the years of 2003-2006 offered any articles or transcripts containing the slogan and will be discussed here.

Inter-coder Reliability

Using percent agreement (Frey et. al 1992 p198) for inter-coder reliability, the author and the two coders, achieved the range of 70%-98% across all variables. Article type was 91.6%. Article focus was 91.6%. Article valence was 70.8%, due to the highly latent nature of this variable in a first time study, this level was deemed acceptable. Historical sin reference was 98.3%. Use of sin was 96.7%. Other sin term was 90%. Sexual reference was 90%. Named amenities reference was 88%. Generic amenities reference was 86.6%. Number of slogan appearances in the article/transcript was 96.1%. The online news index included articles with

¹ Initially, a much smaller population of articles was anticipated and two volunteer coders were recruited. One was a community member and had a bachelor's degree in communication. The other coder had a master's degree in communication. Coders were trained not only in the proper coding of articles containing the slogan but also in the identification of the slogan. In the interest of time and not burdening the two coders with the entire population of articles/transcripts, the author coded one-third of the population of articles.

non-slogans that contained the slogan terms, such as “stay tuned to see what happens.” So achieving above 95% on this variable indicated high levels of confidence in the coders abilities to properly identify the slogan’s use. Total sin references in the article/transcript was 70%, again acceptable for the latent nature of the variable. The total of amenities references in the article/transcript were 81.6%. Manner was 89.7% and function was 81.8% agreement across all three coders. (See Appendix 4 for calculations.)

Due to the highly latent, nominal nature of the data, chi-square statistical measures were run among all variables to isolate any significant relationships. None were found, but in addressing the findings by year identified particular ways in which the campaign was discussed in the media discourse and the ways in which Las Vegas and the slogan were treated. By creating timelines and crosstabulations across measures, this study offers primarily descriptive data of the discourse practice regarding the destination brand communicated via the slogan. The findings will be discussed in the following order: articles/transcripts, the use of the slogan, sin references, amenities references and location’s role in the media discourse.

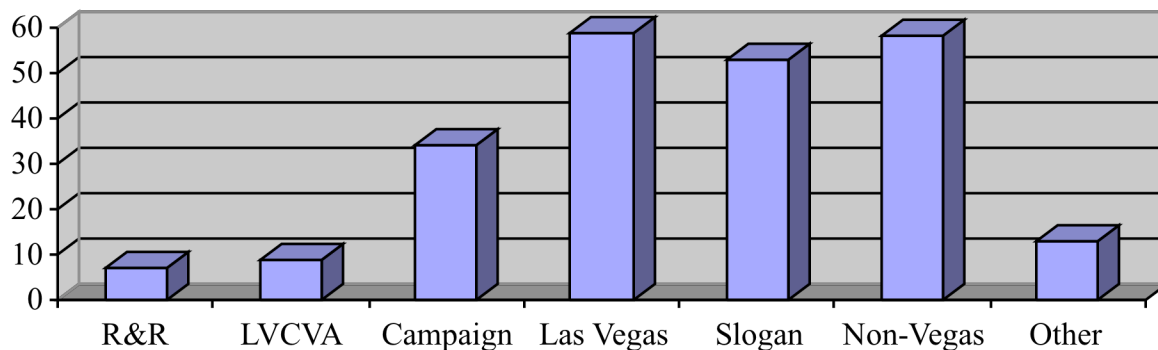
Article/Transcript

135 of the 233, or 57.9%, articles/transcripts identified to contain instances of the slogan were hard news stories. The second most common type to contain the slogan was opinion pieces which accounted for only 8.15% of the total number of articles/transcripts. It should be noted that 12.4% of the articles/transcripts were unable to be classified into a particular category. Many of these articles/transcripts were incomplete transcripts that did not contain enough information to allow the coder to classify the article/transcript.

Of the articles coded, 24.9% were determined by focus to be about a topic other than Las Vegas, the campaign, or the slogan, which is a measure of how far the slogan has emerged into the lexicon. In other words, approximately one out of four uses of the slogan has no relation to Las Vegas. Campaign focused articles/transcripts accounted for 14.6% of the population. The city of Las Vegas accounted for 25.3%. The slogan accounted for 22.7% of the total. R&R, LVCVA and Other made up less than 13% of the population of articles/transcripts. These numbers also indicate that in articles containing the slogan, the slogan's popularity prompted as much media coverage as the city and stories not relating to the city at all. This is an interesting find, since stories containing the slogan not relating to Vegas is second only to articles containing the slogan about the city itself.

FIGURE 4.1

NUMBER OF ARTICLES BY FOCUS

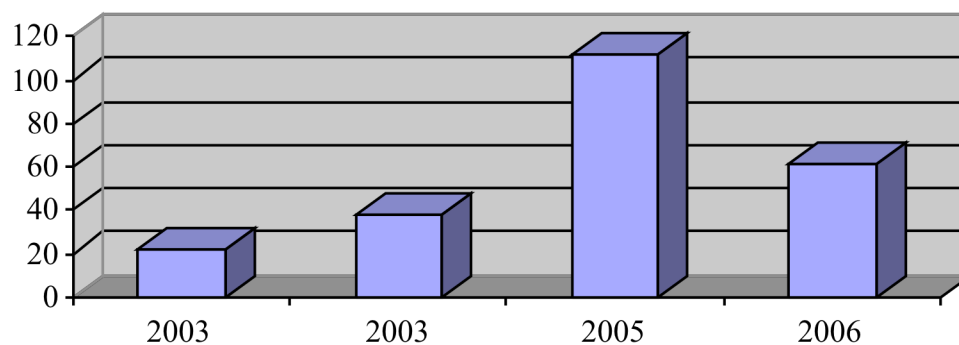


An interesting trend occurred in examining how the number of articles/transcripts functioned over time. By breaking the time line of articles apart by year, 2005 revealed the highest frequency of articles/transcripts. Articles/transcripts per year were 2003- 22 articles/transcripts, 2004- 38 articles/transcripts, 2005-112 articles/transcripts, and 2006-61

articles/transcripts. This is interesting given the campaign was launched in January of 2003 and expectation would suggest references would decline rather than increase. One likely explanation is the increase in media coverage due to two events in 2005. R&R Partners filed trademark infringement lawsuits against an entrepreneur selling apparel saying “What Happens in Vegas, Stays in Vegas.” In order to file the lawsuit, R&R asked the LVCVA to sell the slogan back to them to proceed with the lawsuit. Selling the slogan for a dollar prompted media attention and scrutiny from around the country and may explain why 2005 had more articles and transcripts than any other year. Those two events created more coverage, which might indicate that awareness and slogan references actually grow over time, rather than peaking when the branding campaign first emerged.

FIGURE 4.2

NUMBER OF ARTICLES BY YEAR



When articles/transcripts are separated by media type, another interesting trend emerged in the way the slogan was referenced over time in both print and broadcast media. Broadcast media from 2003 to 2004 had a total of seven articles/transcripts. In 2005, broadcast media transcripts increased to 66 or 28.3% (N=233) of the total number of articles/transcripts. In comparison, print coverage over time was more consistent. This reaffirms what many destination

branding researchers believe, brand awareness builds over time. Broadcast journalists may have been slower to invoke the slogan, but once they did broadcast articles/transcripts accounted for almost thirty percent of the entire population of both print and broadcast articles/transcripts for the entire four years. Again, the increase is likely due to the two events discussed earlier. In 2006, both broadcast and print media declined. However, broadcast media remained significantly higher than the levels it reached in 2003 and 2004, while print media declined to a level lower than 2004.

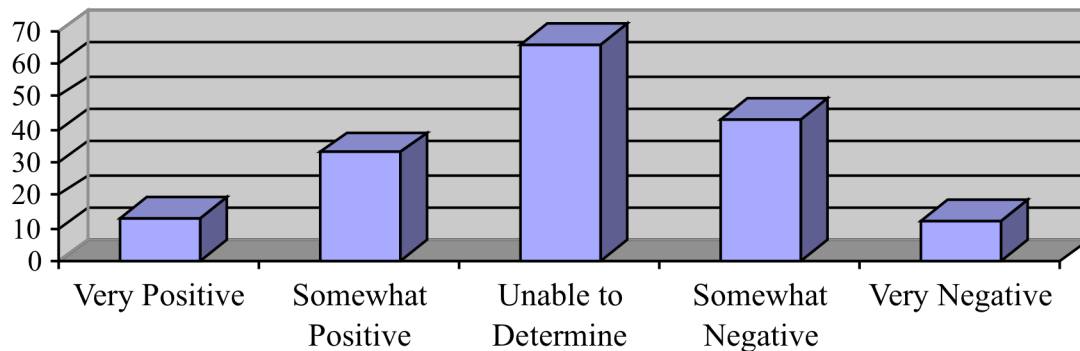
The nature of broadcast transcripts may also explain this trend, many transcripts were teasers of news stories that were aired to raise interest in viewing the actual news program. Additionally, several news transcripts involved broadcast banter between anchors, particularly in weather reports. Although such slogan references indicate the slogan's emergence in the spoken lexicon, they are not given the fuller treatment customary to print articles.

Coders were trained to code valence along a continuum from very positive to very negative. Coders were to determine the valence of the article/transcript in its entirety about how positively or negatively the article/transcript treated the city of Las Vegas. If the treatment was identified as positive but not necessarily a strong portrayal of the city, the coder coded the valence as somewhat positive. No trends regarding article valence emerged relating to article focus or type. In articles relating to Las Vegas, coders only identified slightly more negative than positive treatments in the articles and transcripts. Coders reported difficulty in identifying either a positive or negative treatment in most articles/transcripts (29.3% N=167), indicating further refinement of this type of evaluative measure may be necessary in repeat studies and/or evaluating the destination brands of other locations. It should be noted that generational

tolerances for positive and negative depictions of the city of Las Vegas might play a role in determining valence.

FIGURE 4.3

ARTICLE VALENCE IN VEGAS RELATED ARTICLES/TRANSCRIPTS



Consider one travel feature from the Pittsburgh Post-Gazette coded very negative in valence:

Las Vegas is finally coming clean with what it's really about after abandoning its ad campaign representing it as a family destination in the 1990s. Some people may have not gotten the news, but just look at the theme of the most recent commercials promoting tourism there: 'What happens here, stays here.' Does that sound like a trip to Orlando? Not quite. And that's why families considering a vacation to Las Vegas should contemplate the potential effect it could have on their children. Even though the city remains a fun tourist destination, when youngsters are exposed to this environment, they may bring home something more than just a souvenir from The Strip.

Although few would argue against prudent judgment being exercised when exposing children to gambling, if taking children to Las Vegas spurs such harsh treatment, how should local residents who raise their children there react to the mediated treatments of their hometown. Despite the

pressing need for more refined methods of determining the valence of a destination's mediated discourse, this study highlights the need for destinations to carefully evaluate internal versus external perspectives of the destination as well as the influence of those perspectives on the development of place attachments for both the visitor and the resident.

Slogan

Of the 335 slogans identified, 70.7% of them were found to be word-for-word, relating to Las Vegas and 68.4% were direct campaign references indicating when the slogan appeared, Las Vegas and the campaign were associated with the slogan. To gain insight into the slogan's use in the media, both manner and function were examined over time.

Crosstabulation of slogan function by year indicated the slogan was used most frequently as a campaign reference somewhat consistently over time, emerging as 59.4% of slogan functions in 2003, 62.3% in 2004, peaking at 73.1% in 2005 before declining slightly to 67.9% in 2006. Quotations, however, declined over time. The frequency of slogans as quotations emerged at 16.2% in 2003 before climbing to 21.3% in 2004 before falling to 9.6% in 2005 to only 4.9 % in 2006. One example of a quotation from 2004 in an article related to the city of Las Vegas quoted the president.

In his remarks at a National Guard Convention here last week, President Bush humorously reminded the boisterous conventioners of this city's slogan: "What happens here, stays here." That may be true for the high rollers drawn to this city's glittering strip of hotels and casinos, but not so with the presidential election this fall. What happens in Las Vegas and, consequently, in Nevada, could decide who sits in the White House next January.

This article also shows an example of how literary devices, (“What happens in Las Vegas...could decide who sits in the White House”) tended to follow quotations or direct references in the articles/transcripts.

2005 contained the most literary device functions of the slogan with fifteen, accounting for only 9.6% of that year’s slogan functions, although its percentage climbed the following year to 12.3%. However, literary device functions accounted for the highest percent of functions in 2003 with 16.2%, but it should be noted that reflects only six incidents of an author using the slogan as a literary device. The greatest cluster of literary devices was found in stories not related in any way to Las Vegas.

TABLE 4.1
OVERALL FUNCTION OVER TIME

Function	2003 N=37	2004 N=61	2005 N=156	2006 N=81
Campaign	59.5%	62.3%	73.1%	67.9%
Literary Device	16.2%	9.8%	9.6%	12.3%
Quotation	16.2%	21.3%	9.6%	4.9%

Crosstabulation of manner by year indicated a strong link between the slogan and city. The slogan was used in a manner associated with Las Vegas in 89.5% of incidents of the slogan. For example, one article from the *Columbus Dispatch* is reflective of most of the word for word Las Vegas related slogan uses: “Riding the crest of its popular “What happens here, stays here” campaign, the Las Vegas Convention and Visitor’s Authority on Monday started an \$8 million advertising campaign.” Of the Vegas related incidents of the slogan, only 21% of the slogan was a variation of the campaign’s original wording of the slogan. The slogan was used in a manner to

mean a location other than Las Vegas in only 9.5% of slogan occurrences. The majority of non-Vegas related occurrences, 62.5 % were variations on the slogan's original wording. Only 24.7% of the slogan occurrences were found to be slogan variations. Word-for-word, Las Vegas related slogan uses dominated the manner in which the slogan was used in all four years with very little fluctuation, (67.2%-72.4%) overall. Studying the manner of how the slogan is used indicates the strong associative power of the slogan to Las Vegas in the media discourse. This largely confirms what has already been widely accepted regarding the meaning of the expression, "what happens here, stays here." This finding suggests branding was successful in strengthening associations between the slogan and the location.

This measure also serves as an additional measure to the transference of the product (Las Vegas) into the slogan (what happens here, stays here) when the second highest frequency of the slogan's use is a variation on the original slogan that is still used to imply Las Vegas. In many cases, this is implicitly stated as "what happens in Vegas, stays in Vegas" however coders had to interpret the instances of non-implicitly stated Vegas related slogans providing an example of not only text production, but also text interpretation. If coders could infer variations of the slogan where Las Vegas was not stated directly, it stands to reason any one reading an article or hearing a broadcast reference would make similar interpretations.

In addition to examining manner and function over time, slogan and manner were compared directly indicating 61.7% of all slogan occurrences were both direct campaign references and were word-for-word, Las Vegas related treatments. No other combination of manner and function types compared in frequency or percent to this measure. This is expected due to the nature of the campaign reference automatically implying the city of Las Vegas. 40.6% of campaign references were found in hard news articles with the second highest number of

slogan functions found as campaign references in opinion pieces, at 9.5% of all articles/transcripts.

TABLE 4.2

CROSSTABULATION OF SLOGAN FUNCTION AND MANNER

		Slogan Function (N=335)			
		Campaign Reference	Literary Device	Quotation	Other
Slogan Manner	Word-for-word, Vegas Related	61.7%	3.5%	3.8%	1.4%
	Word-for-word, Non-Vegas Related	0	2.9%	0.5%	0
	Variation, Vegas Related	5.3%	3.2%	5.3%	4.7%
	Variation, Non-Vegas Related	1.1%	1.1%	1.4%	2.0%
	Unable to Identify Manner	0	0	0	.8%

Sin References

Although reducing the sinful connotations of Las Vegas was not a goal implicitly stated by the campaign, the city's previous nickname of Sin City justified an examination of how the previous identifiers are treated with the introduction of a new destination brand. 109 sin references in 75 articles/ transcripts (32.1% of total articles/transcripts) were identified. Once identified, sinful connotations were organized into four areas.

The first area, historical sin references, ties directly into the questionable history and Hollywood depictions outlined in Chapter 2. Only six historical sin references were found, accounting for 5.5% of all sin references. The second area of sin references identified the number of times the word "sin" appeared anywhere in the article/transcript. 29.4% of sin references fell into this category. In addition to the actual use of the word "sin," coders also looked for other sin

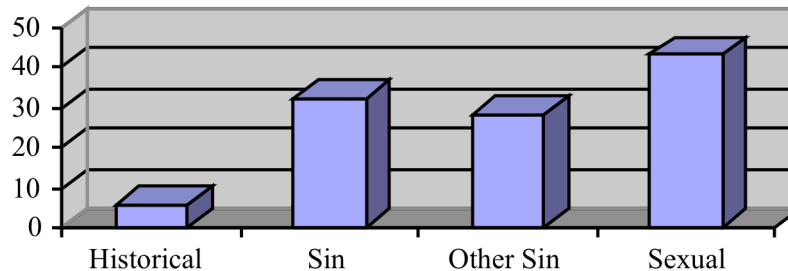
terms which accounted for 25.6% of sin references. The largest area of sin references was sexual references and accounted for 39.4% of all sin references.

In several instances, more than one type of sin reference appeared together. A headline from Passaic County, New Jersey read, “Sin City returns to its evil ways; What happens here, stays here, they say.” Note how this one headline included three of the four categories, actual use of the word sin, referencing the city’s past and the use of other sin terms, such as “evil.” Those references were only in the headline, the article went on to discuss how a pair of sisters could use fake identification to gain admittance to a nightclub and the pair then told the reporter that, “What happens in Vegas, stays in Vegas” further associating the city with illegal behavior, their own, and using the slogan as an explanation rather than a defense.

Based on these sin reference percentiles, the argument could be made that Las Vegas has exchanged sin references about its past image for a sexier image. This may be a sign of an overall cultural shift in the tolerance of sexual references in mainstream society and not regarding Las Vegas in particular. The goal of the campaign was not to avoid sin references, however by examining the type of sin references it has been revealed that sexual references are more likely to be made than historical ones. This may be due to either the city’s history or the commercials’ use of the sexual paired with the awkward (identified by chapter three) or both. The city’s old label of “Sin City” was found quite frequently in the articles and accounts for the higher percentile of the actual use of sin found here suggesting that previous associations must be addressed by the new brand.

FIGURE 4.4

SIN REFERENCE BY TYPE



Amenities References

By examining the treatment of amenities in the media discourse, an additional measure verifying the strategy of reducing the role of amenities identified in chapter 3 through the textual analysis can be obtained. Just over half, 51.5% of the articles/transcripts contained at least one amenities reference. Given the reduced role of amenities in the television spots, one would expect the media discourse to follow suit. For the most part, it did. However a few articles/transcripts contained significantly higher amenities references, one in particular contained as many as 102, resulting in 1006 amenities references identified by coders, which may explain the following finding: in articles/transcripts containing amenities references, only slightly more references were generic (52.1) as compared to named amenities references (47.9%). One article from The Daily News of Los Angeles shows how the slogan's meaning is associated with the amenities of Las Vegas even though the campaign's focus was on the experience. The article read, "In a city whose marketing slogan is unashamedly hedonistic- "What happens here stays here"-it's probably unthinkable that a hotel would try to succeed by

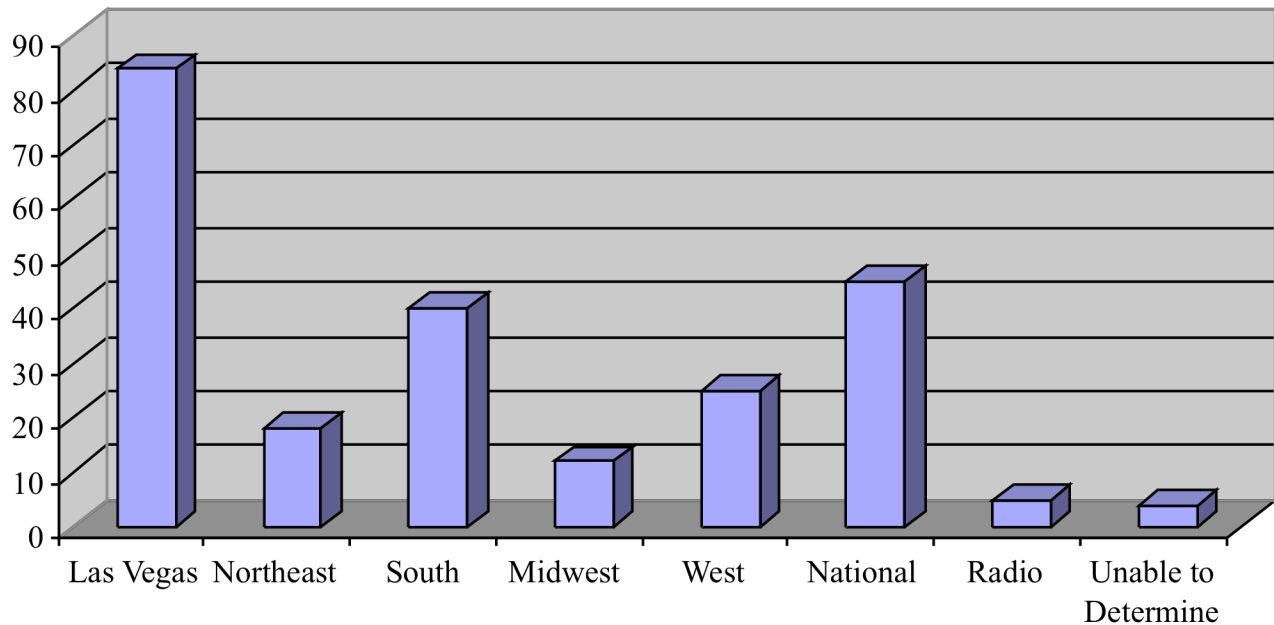
being all business, but the Westin Casuarina has proven that there's room even for that niche amid the glitter of the Strip.”

It should be noted, however, that in examining the total number of articles/transcripts containing amenities references with those that did not by article focus, amenities references can be placed into the proper perspective. The greatest number of stories containing amenities references was 19.3% of the entire population of articles and occurred in articles focused on Las Vegas. It appears reducing the role of amenities in commercials does little to prevent amenities references in print and broadcast media treatments of the destination brand. Therefore, amenities hesitant to support the strategy of reducing the role of amenities may be rewarded in other media coverage, if, of course; the destination brand draws media attention. However one study by the MRC, the largest survey research firm in Nevada, “found a dramatic drop in the importance of hotel-room discounts, casino specials or discounted air fares” in 2004” (Smith 2004 p1D). This suggests the role of amenities in destination promotion may be in flux.

Location

Coders, whenever possible, identified the location of origin of the article/transcript to provide an evaluative measure of how wide spread the slogan's treatment is on a national level. The four main geographic regions of the United States were used, after isolating stories originating in Las Vegas (36.1%) from the total number of articles/transcripts. National news organizations and radio transcripts where a location could not be determined were also isolated.

FIGURE 4.5
ARTICLE FREQUENCY BY LOCATION



Interestingly, the South emerged as the region with the highest frequency of media discourse with 17.2% of the remaining articles/transcripts. One article from the *Tampa Tribune* featured a non-Vegas related variation of the slogan as a headline to an article discussing a task force being formed to create a slogan for Tampa. The headline read, “Tampa: What Happens Here, Stays Weird.” This finding is surprising given the targeted media buys the campaign made were in markets closer to Las Vegas. Granted, the newspapers carried by the Lexis-Nexis Database may be the sole cause of this finding. The author’s city newspaper in the Midwest has used the slogan in articles and as headlines and none of those instances was included in the database. Another possible explanation for the higher frequency of slogan references in Southern articles may be due to the many tourist destination in close proximity to one another creating campaigns that compete for the same short distance travelers. However, the South’s numbers

were 3 times the numbers of the other three geographic regions. Further refinement of this evaluative measure, particularly over time would be useful for destination branding researchers to establish how different regions are responding to the destination brand. Considering Beirne's initial argument that the campaign was targeting the "Branson crowd," the influence of media treatments by location should not be dismissed.

One interesting element to the discussion of location in evaluating Las Vegas' destination brand is that articles originating in Las Vegas were found to have twice the negative versus positive results in article valence. Again, confirming local treatments of the destination brand reflect a different measure of brand effectiveness in communities outside of the one being branded.

LIMITATIONS

The slogan, "what happens here, stays here" brings its own limitation to the study. Unlike Wendy's "Where's the beef?" this slogan was not created distinctly for Las Vegas. From military leave to actors on location, people have used this unspoken rule, to assuage guilt or avoid responsibility for behavior (Friess 2004 pA14). Conducting a content-analysis of the three years prior to 2003 provided a means for accounting for this possibility and even going back prior to 2000 may be important in future studies.

Lexis-Nexis limits the study from the outset. If Lexis-Nexis does not have access to the article/transcript then it did not have a fair chance of being examined in this study to assess if there was an occurrence of the slogan. The author is aware of several specific instances of broadcasts that contained the slogan, however only Lexis-Nexis was utilized for this study. Lexis-Nexis also has no way of including talk shows that have been known for using the slogan.

The introduction of those sources could alter the data significantly. Finally, the four words of the slogan, *what, happens, here* and *stays* are not unique and may be found in numerous articles not necessary for the study. The greatest limit to the study is the reliability of the search engine to provide relevant instances of the slogan. Future studies could include multiple online news indices to contribute to the population of documented incidents of the slogan. However, to include multiple news indices would require careful elimination of duplicates.

Additionally, online databases are frequently updated. Once the search has been conducted, it would take repeat searches to identify additional articles that were not available to the database when the search was conducted. Some articles/transcripts may now be available tomorrow that were not available today. Repeat searches to identify such updates should become a routine part of using this method in evaluating destination brands in media discourse.

Another limitation of the study involves the incomplete transcripts from the database. While manner and function were still able to be determined, sin and amenities references may have been higher than the frequencies reported here due to incomplete transcripts.

The final limitation to the study is that this level of analysis only addresses recorded media discourse and not how casual conversations prompt the phrase. Additional methods could be supplemented to address the lay person's use of the slogan rather than the journalist who unarguably is overrepresented in this study. The lay person may be more likely to use variations rather than the careful word-for-word treatments in the media.

DISCUSSION

Turning to media discourse for evaluative measures of a destination brand has both its advantages and disadvantages. First, the advantages to using media discourse will be addressed.

For the destination researcher, media discourse allows the researcher to evaluate the discourse practice level of a destination brand free from the confines of time and place. Because media discourse is recorded in databases, like the one utilized here, destination branding researchers have access to a greater number of discursive exchanges than those they could document individually in alternative methods of research. Additionally, media discourse allows the researcher to evaluate the effectiveness of the brand over time and place. Recorded media discourse offers both a time and place stamp on the discourse, thus allowing a researcher to study from afar as well as to go back in time. Despite the limitations of a particular database, this is an evaluative measure that should be utilized more than it has to date for what it can bring to the destination brand's evaluation.

For the destination engaged in branding, examining media discourse to evaluate the destination brand offers an outside measure of success. Such measures need to go beyond simple formulas that offer a monetary value to the press coverage. If the media discourse is positive, the destination brand indicates a certain amount of influence that goes beyond free promotion of the destination brand. Additionally, for the destination using branding, even the simple broadcast banter indicates whether the slogan is permeating the way people talk about place that can serve to reinforce the brand.

For example, the *Tampa Tribune* solicited slogans for Tampa and found a clear example of how the slogan is used by people to talk about place as well as the pairing of this slogan with sexual references. A local resident who submitted a slogan suggestion that read, "What happens, when your wife thinks you're at a convention in Orlando, stays in Tampa." Note how the individual constructed their own meaning by inserting a different location (product) into the slogan exemplifying the participation the campaign spots required of the viewer. Interestingly,

the variation's author preempted the variation with a sexual reference saying the slogan "captures the essence of the renowned natural silicon resources of the city." Taken alone the variation has no sexual connotation, however it was constructed with one as admitted to by its author. Regardless of the media's treatment, the print articles and broadcast transcripts are one way of capturing the way a non-journalist talks about place.

In addition to the advantages of content analyzing media discourse to evaluate a destination brand, several disadvantages should be noted. For the researcher, the type of media available for use in a study evaluating a destination brand presents its own restrictions. Portions of transcripts may be incomplete. In this study, some transcripts only allowed the slogan to be printed, not the full dialogue that contextualizes the slogan's use for example. In addition to incomplete transcripts, populations may be incomplete. To include articles the researcher has collected from local news media, not available through an online database raises issues of bias. Finally, the destination branding researcher needs to be careful in focusing on print treatments because such treatments may not be as important or influential in shaping the way people talk about place. Broadcast or online brand treatments may have greater impact.

The destination using branding also should be aware that media discourse evaluations may not be the perfect means to evaluating the brand. Many of the articles used in this study were by the same beat reporter assigned to the key stakeholders of the campaign. Given most beat reporters reside in or near the city they cover, their treatments of the destination brand are influenced by their perspective as an insider versus an outsider. Particularly important is that due to wire services beat reporters, who are more likely to reflect an internal and at times more pessimistic treatment of the brand may be the ones setting the tone for the reception of the brand in outside communities.

CONCLUSIONS

The total number of articles and slogans identified by coders indicate the slogan has permeated the spoken lexicon. Several articles themselves are dedicated to that very premise. So for the destination brand researcher, careful examination of the media discourse provides supplemental sources verifying the effectiveness of the destination brand. Content analysis provided the author with other events important to the brand.

For example, several articles that focused on the slogan were addressing a pharmaceutical company that was seeking to promote an AIDS drug using the slogan, “what happens in Vegas, doesn’t always stay in Vegas.” Again the stakeholders were resisting such use, however when a slogan or brand that has attained a high level of popularity is connected with larger social issues, a new legal debate is created. The company will have to have permission to use such a variation, however the spoken slogan by those not seeking profit are not confined by the legal trademark regulations.

This raises new questions. At what point does the permeability of a slogan dilute the original product associations through widespread use? Advertising research is built on the premise of crafting the perfect slogan or brand to bring attention to the product. However, in the spoken lexicon, particularly with this campaign, the meaning constructed is highly personal and issues of control may become concerns for branding destinations. Watching the slogan’s use over time may be the only way to determine if a destination can maintain control of the meaning of the brand when adopted by the population at large. This study has taken the first steps to begin the process of documenting a popular destination brand and its relationship to the population’s culture.

EVALUATING THE DESTINATION BRAND

This study suggests the key to evaluating the destination brand is the careful construction of evaluative measures beyond counting tourists and tourism dollars. To construct such evaluative measures the individual location needs to be examined in-depth to identify previous perceptions of the location. The goal is not to evaluate how well the destination brand replaced those perceptions but works to resonate with them. For Las Vegas, the seedy history and gangster movie images via enthymeme worked to make the branding campaign mesh with the city's past.

To evaluate the destination brand, the campaign in all of its manifestations needs to be examined to identify the particular rhetorical and advertising strategies at work in the campaign. Such an examination should be conducted outside of the destination branding organization and its stakeholders because it is through the accurate identification of the strategies that the destination brand can be evaluated.

After the previous perceptions of the location and the particular strategies of the campaign are identified, they should then be used to examine the discourse the destination brand created in both the spoken lexicon and media treatments. Other locations do not need to examine sin references, but other associations and perceptions may need addressing. For example, New Orleans would be foolish to consider branding without a careful examination of the media discourse surrounding Hurricane Katrina primarily because the media's discourse regarding the city can impair or promote the brand. Follow up examinations of Las Vegas may require the additional variables of references to the family-friendly approaches in the nineties and references to organized crime.

Some strategies may require different evaluative measures. Consider if the campaign had used a spokesperson, evaluating the media discourse regarding that individual would be a measure of the brand's success. In Las Vegas, the use of narratives de-emphasized the amenities of the location which suggested one criterion for this study. Other locations may not need such an examination in evaluating their brand if the strategy was not implemented on the textual level of the brand's construction.

Finally, once the evaluative measures are constructed, a destination brand should then be deemed effective or ineffective based on its level of resonance. The level of resonance is determined with how well the identifications of previous perceptions and particular strategies resonate with the discourse the campaign creates. In this case, Las Vegas already had a popular slogan that had generated enough discourse to allow an evaluation of spoken discourse from broadcast transcripts and printed discourse from news articles. Destination brands without similar popularity can still evaluate spoken and printed discourse from other types of discourse such as focus groups and online blogs created for the purposes of prompting discourse about the brand. However, destination brand evaluators need to be mindful of whether those responding to the brand have internal or external perspectives of the destination because place attachments differ based on one's status as traveler versus tenant.

Destination branding researchers have been frustrated by the lack of a definitive set of criteria to measure brand success when instead a definitive set of evaluative strategies may hold more promise. Each location has its own identity constructed before the decision to brand it was made. People have pre-existing attachments to those places and communication needs to consider such relationships and mesh into those relationships rather than try to cover up or establish new ones, how well they mesh is a matter of destination brand resonance.

CHAPTER 5

INTRODUCTION

This study began with one main aim: to examine Las Vegas's destination brand to find generalizable methods of evaluating and studying destination brands. In this chapter, theoretical implications of the research will be applied to anthropological place attachment theory and classical communication theory before finally discussing the contributions and suggestions for further research to the developing field of destination branding scholarship.

THEORETICAL IMPLICATIONS

Several theoretical perspectives were utilized in this analysis to highlight, reveal or explain key elements of the Las Vegas destination brand. Given that the theoretical perspectives were drawn across disciplinary lines, it is necessary to return to these theoretical perspectives with a review discussion of how they can be useful in continued destination branding research. Theories from anthropology and communication will be discussed before summarizing how this study has contributed to understanding destination branding.

Place Attachment Theory

In returning to place attachment theory, this study supports the definition of place attachments. The Las Vegas branding efforts support Low's (1992) refined definition of place attachment theory. "Place attachment is the symbolic relationship formed by people giving culturally shared emotional/affective meanings to a particular space or piece of land that provides the basis for the individual's and group's understanding of and relation to the environment" (1992 p165). The central finding in place attachment theory is that people give

space its meaning. This analysis has revealed that the campaign through participation allowed people to attach a culturally shared meaning to the city of Las Vegas. This ability to attach meaning to a place through symbolic relationships provides a basis for understanding the location. In essence, this is how a location's identity is formed. By the careful and strategic use of the campaign spots, the relationship between people and place was "partipulated" by the ad creator and the audience to achieve a more favorable identity.

Chapter one introduced several entailments of place attachment theory important in studying destination brands: multi-dimensionality, favorite places, symbolic linkages and cultural treatments of place attachments. Examining Las Vegas as a successful destination brand revealed how understanding these entailments may be useful to branding other destinations.

Altman and Low claim that place attachments are multi-dimensional, consisting of multiple factors that are related but different from one another. Las Vegas' history influences how the city was depicted in film; they are both separate factors but are inextricably linked. Legislative decisions to expedite the divorce process, marketing decisions to promote the Hoover Dam's construction and atomic weapons testing all combine with modern issues of water shortages and the selling of perhaps the most profitable slogan of the 2000s for a dollar all impact how tourists attach to the city of Las Vegas. Recall how Altman and Low argued that the social, cultural, psychological, economic and political aspects of place attachment do not function independently, but as part of a conceptual whole (Low in Altman & Low 1992 p183). To craft the successful destination brand the brand must not only resonate with each of these five aspects in turn but in their combination with one another. The ambiguity of the spots and the variations in the slogan's emergence into the lexicon suggest the Las Vegas brand was capable of handling the multi-dimensionality of place attachments.

In addition, Korpela et. al, highlighted that favorite places gained their status as a favorite place based on personal inclinations versus the properties of the place (2001). The Las Vegas campaign focused on the experience the city could offer not on the city's amenities. As places for legalized gambling have increased, destinations must find new ways to draw interest. By emphasizing experiences that could take place in Las Vegas, the branding campaign elevates the city to a favorite place. The supplemental slogan in many of the spots said "Only Vegas," meaning other locations may have similar amenities, but only Las Vegas can offer the experience. Being able to position the city as the favorite place for gaming indicates how the entailment of favorite places apply to destination brands.

Initially, the study expected to draw solely from one symbolic linkage of people to places. However, through the course of studying how narrative functioned in the campaign, evidence emerged for inclusion of two of Low's additional symbolic linkages: cosmological and pilgrimage. These three linkages may hold promise for supplemental destination branding research particularly due to the role of myth in narrative construction of place attachments. Holt has argued Mountain Dew's cultural branding success stemmed from the hillbilly and slacker myths. Concomitantly, Vegas' cultural branding success stemmed from the naughty playground myth of Las Vegas.

Myths fall under Low's symbolic linkage of cosmological place attachments. For some cultural groups, "cosmological place attachment takes the form of correspondence between their myths and symbols, their social organization, and the architectonic order" (Low 1992 p171). Although Low focuses on how the cosmological linkages shape the construction of villages and domiciles, Las Vegas' architectural landscape also contributes to the myths surrounding the city.

By reproducing various landmarks from other cities, the Statue of Liberty, the Sphinx, the canals of Venice, the Eiffel tower, etc. with a capitalistic air of grandiosity, the city represents a highly condensed and simplified treatment of the adult world. In the same way, small houses and teepees are constructed in a sanitary way with bright colors for a children's playground, famous landmarks have been reproduced in Las Vegas truly making the location a playground for adults. Because Las Vegas is a real city mimicking other cities, myths are constructed about the city. Some authors argue the resorts have pillaged the original landmarks in a capitalistic quest to acquire and consume. So showing such amenities in a branding campaign might restrain the experience.

However, Las Vegas is using the symbolically created place attachments of other locations to strengthen its own cultural place attachments. In a post 9-11 world, international travel holds new meanings for Americans and Las Vegas can allow a traveler to experience the world without a passport. Although one is aware the resorts are recreations made of concrete and cash, experiencing the myth through the architectural skyline of Las Vegas creates a cosmological connection between tourist and place. All that is required is making a visit.

At the very least, a pilgrimage involves a change in the rhythm of one's life and the experience of a new environment, thus creating a temporary identification with a place imbued with special meaning. The desire to make pilgrimage also creates attachment in that the person spends time dreaming and planning for the time when the pilgrimage might be finally accomplished. Pilgrimages and celebratory events may be secular as well as religious. In the United States, a pilgrimage to the nation's capital in Washington D.C., is often made by local school children as a lesson in American history and citizenship. (Low 1992 p173)

While few think of vacations or short weekend trips as pilgrimages, Low's notion of secular pilgrimages applies to Las Vegas. Similar to children traveling to Washington D.C. to learn a historical concept of freedom, a trip to Las Vegas as adults offers lessons in an adult concept of freedom, the ritual of the bachelor/bachelorette party being one example. "Thus pilgrimage as a type of place attachment can evoke social, moral and cosmological meanings through dreaming of, traveling to, and experiencing of, a place" (Low 1992 p173).

The decision to use narratives was the single most important choice made in the Las Vegas branding campaign because of the ability of narrative to serve multiple functions. The narratives created disarming humor, invited audience participation, established a format for subsequent spots and placed experiences above amenities. What makes the role of narrative in the spots so powerful is because humans communicate with one another primarily through stories (Fisher 1989). Further, narrating "is the process by which attachment occurs" (Low 1992 p167). Humans do not only use narratives to relate to one another but to relate themselves to locations. When participating in a conversation about Las Vegas and the slogan or references to the narratives come up, both theoretical tenets are at work. If the narrative also contains components of the myths regarding the location, the more the conversation can strengthen the attachment.

Cosmological linkages derived from myths, pilgrimages either physical or mental, and narratives are all what Low categorizes as ideological aspects of place attachment. Shaping the ideological aspects through the construction of a destination brand, allows the rhetor to shape the audience's attachment to a particular place. To consider such ideological aspects in the absence of a communication study would be an example of the problems with studying destination brands in a vacuum.

The last entailment of place attachment theory involves a cultural treatment of place attachments. Altman and Low claim it is possible for “whole cultures often consensually or collectively share attachments to places” (1992 p6). The mediated depictions discussed in chapter two and the slogan’s use in the lexicon in chapter four underscore how the destination identity and the subsequent brand of Las Vegas operate within a broader culture. Even though the spots can be viewed individually and meaning attached individually, in the case of Las Vegas conversations and mediated depictions moved beyond a single individual construction of meaning to the brand and crossed into a culturally shaped and maintained meaning. Although the author can recall her own Las Vegas family vacation, the branding campaign has shaped an individual place attachment into a cultural place attachment. If the narrative of being stranded in Las Vegas outside the Hard Rock Hotel and Casino now includes a slogan reference or more likely a slogan variation, the personal has now become cultural. Such shaping is what Low meant by a “transformation of the experience of a space or piece of land into a culturally meaningful and shared symbol” (1992).

The final theoretical implication for place attachment theory that emerged from this analysis addresses a key question in place attachment theory: “How do people attach to places?” Is attachment solely an individual development process in that place is the context for growth and human development or does culture provide a framework and set of salient symbols for this attachment process?” (Low 1992 p183). The case study of Las Vegas would suggest the latter. Individuals might have a hard time reconciling Las Vegas as a place for human growth and development, but with a cultural climate of tolerance for the type of freedoms the city offers, even the most conservative of individuals seek out the city as a release for normal social pressures. Thus building on Korpela et. al.’s notion that favorite place, afford “escape from

social pressures with concomitant freedom of expression and control” (Korpela et. al 2001 p 576). Culture imposes social pressures, not the individual.

Hufford, another place attachment scholar, notes, “Places, as aspects of reality, are socially constructed, emerging within the world we shape for ourselves, a world we then discover and inhabit (Natanson, 1970). Places do not exist apart from human experience and understandings; they are always *places-for*” (in Altman & Low p232). The rhetor’s selection of the brand “freedom” makes Las Vegas the *place-for* freedom. Destination branders should examine this idea of *place for*. The successful “Virginia is for lovers” branding campaign follows this formula even more closely than Las Vegas. In earlier branding efforts, Las Vegas used the term *freedom* prominently in the slogans and themes of the spots. However, the term alone could not communicate the experience. The narrative spots with the slogan that communicated the experience of freedom were much more effective. Las Vegas transitioned from the *place-for* scandal to the *place-for* freedom without changing a single thing about the city, simply by influencing the way place attachments are formed by how people “talk about place.”

Communication Theory

Recall one aim of the study was to avoid studying destination branding in a vacuum, which meant drawing from multiple disciplines. Theoretical implications for a communication perspective of destination branding also emerged in the analysis in the communication fields of branding and rhetoric. This study highlights three characteristics of branding important to destinations; brands are differentiating, emotional and relational.

Holt (2004) outlined four kinds of branding. The examination of Las Vegas indicates these categories are not exclusive and that in overlapping types of branding may hold promise for destination branding. Mind-share branding's goal is to carve out unique elements of the product. Under this definition, it becomes clear that the Campbell and Jamieson's aim of differentiation is useful in examining mind-share branding efforts by a destination. Differentiation when combined with mind-share branding is concerned with more than characteristics of the product; this combination serves to use unique elements of the destination to strengthen the relationship.

The goal of emotional branding is to create and maintain relationships between consumer and the thing consumed. What makes this relationship emotional is the notion of transcendence. The brand relationship transcends the consumption experience from material satisfaction to emotional fulfillment. A tourist needs food and lodging on their pilgrimage, but dining with Emeril or staying at the Bellagio turns those basic survival needs into an experience of Las Vegas capable of prompting repeat visitors. Note that one of the targeted audiences with the campaign was the repeat visitor. The repeat visitor already has an emotional relationship established with a destination, strengthening those relationships versus starting new ones with first time tourists is a wise strategy for destination brands.

On first glance the Las Vegas branding campaign may not appear like viral branding, the campaign was launched in the mass media across multiple forms of traditional advertising forms, (television, outdoor, print) but the campaign did contain elements of viral branding. The campaign sent Elvis impersonators and showgirls to the streets of New York during Fashion Week to promote the high-end retail stores now home to Vegas. This is one example of the more traditional types of viral branding created by grassroots efforts and buzz. However, as chapter

four indicates buzz was also created by the campaign in the press. Additionally, when the average lay person uses the slogan or its variation, they are creating buzz. The Las Vegas campaign indicates that traditional advertising forms can ignite viral branding.

The final type of branding according to Holt (2004) is cultural branding. Cultural branding draws from the idea that the branded product is consumed so the consumer can experience the story the brand tells. Holt argues the role of the company in cultural branding is that of an author regaling the audience with myths. Holt indicates, “performing a myth that addresses an acute contradiction in society” is required for the successful cultural brand. The myth of Las Vegas, constructed through its history and Hollywood depictions is of a city corrupt with sin on organizational and personal levels. The campaign builds on this myth by offering micro-myths in the narrative vignettes of the spots. The consumer’s role is to personalize the brand’s myth to fit their individual biography and engage in ritual action to experience the myth when using the product (Holt 2004 p14). In the spots the rhetor has become an author of Las Vegas myths that consumers personalized through incomplete narratives and once in Las Vegas experience the myth when “using the product.” The cell phone example discussed earlier indicates how tourists viewed the rhetor’s myth and then sought out to experience the myth when they visited the physical location. Holt’s treatment of cultural branding coincides with destination branding research that argues tourists want to experience the associated amenities of a location such as Broadway shows in New York and the steaks in Omaha. To deny those myths, is to undermine the destination brand.

In Las Vegas, Holt’s four types of branding worked alongside place attachments suggesting a theoretical middle ground between the use of branding and the development of human relationships to places. Multi-dimensional locations being commodified raises ethical

concerns by reducing communities to products; however place attachment theory provides an operating assumption that recognizes connecting with places is a basic element of the human experience and using relationships achieved via branding offers humans a means of establishing new place attachments while maintaining old ones.

From a communication standpoint, neither destination branding or place attachments can occur without “talk” or “discourse.” What makes this fact interesting in destination branding research is the tendency for the destination to become and be treated, as it often was here, as the rhetor. Kenneth Burke, the pre-eminent rhetorical theorist of the 20th century, provided two theories useful in understanding the rhetorical components of destination branding, identification theory and dramatistic pentadic theory. Each theory will be reviewed before discussing how the theory applies to Las Vegas’ destination brand.

In dramatistic pentadic theory, Burke treats the rhetor, or *actor*, as *agent*, the action that occurs as *act*, *agency* is how the act is done, *purpose* is why, and the place containing the act as *scene*. He claims, “the scene contains the agents” and “the scene is a fit container for the act” (1955 p3). Upon this basis of understanding, he argues that the act must be consistent with the scene (1995 p7).

In applying this understanding to the analysis here, Las Vegas is the *scene* where the *agents*, the LVCVA and R&R partners whose *act* of constructing a destination brand occurred. The *purpose* was to increase tourism revenue and the *agency* was the mass media. This is a primitive analysis and with the incorporation of place attachment theory and branding, a new understanding of the performance from Las Vegas comes into view.

Branding and the strategic use of narrative presented Las Vegas as the agent. Recall the spots where tourists actually received phone calls where Las Vegas called them to visit. Burke

refers to this as “‘agentification’ of scene” (1955 p128). Thus the argument could be made the act of destination branding is second to the transformation of scene to agent that occurs in the formation of destination brands. Burke’s argument for consistency between the scene and act again highlights the importance of resonance argued for earlier.

However, treating Las Vegas as the agent shifts the pentadic understanding of the branding campaign. With Las Vegas as agent, the act becomes the influencing of place attachments. The scene becomes the location within the viewer where the attachments are formed or changed. The agency or means by which attachments were influenced was through participation prompted by narrative. Even the lint roller print ad tells a story the audience must craft. The remarkable thing Las Vegas did with their brand was to make the audience execute the agency.

The purpose changes as well from merely increasing tourism revenue to gaining added status. Since the campaign, Las Vegas has gained more than money and tourists, it has gained recognition on the national and international levels and not only from within the advertising industry. Therefore the newly revealed purpose of the branding campaign was to acquire power over other locations, but when the slogan permeated the lexicon, Las Vegas gained control over people and control over how they talk about place. With this understanding of Burkean Pentadic Theory in mind, Burke’s second theory, identification, will now be reviewed and applied to the study of destination branding.

Burke’s theory of identification, as outlined in *A Rhetoric of Motives* (1950), operates under the notion that humans in their acts are symbol using and misusing animals. The goal of our symbol use is to allow humans to connect with one another in meaningful ways. When symbols are used effectively, humans grow closer together creating *identification* and when they

are misused, humans are driven apart resulting in *division* or *separation*. Burke explains “a speaker persuades an audience by the use of stylistic *identifications*; his act of persuasion may be for the purposes of causing the audience to *identify* itself with the speaker’s interests; and the speaker draws on *identification* of interests to establish rapport” (1950 p46).

Burke argues that *consubstantiality* is one way humans create *identification*. Burke explains consubstantiality in this way, “in acting together, men have common sensations, concepts, images, ideas, attitudes that make them consubstantial” (1950 p21). In this understanding of identification, Burke introduces the terms *order* and *mystery*, *order* refers to the hierarchy or stratification of people and *mystery* arises at that point where different kinds of beings are in communication. Burke goes on to clarify mystery stating, “in mystery, there must be strangeness; but the estranged must also be thought of as in way capable of communion” (1950 p115). Burke argues the conditions for mystery are established by social class distinctions. One who has never had the means to dine in Paris, must overcome mystery by drawing from their personal experiences of eating French food elsewhere, but even those experiences can fail to help the cuisine challenged to identify with the sophisticated gourmet palate of the individual with the means to travel. However, the stronger the gourmet’s rhetorical prowess in conveying experiences to the listener that can bridge such matters of *order*, the more likely identification is to occur between them.

Mystification thus refers to “one class struggling to possess the soul of another class” (1960 p117). Overcoming the distance between classes (mystification) is requisite to connecting with a speaker (identification). Littlejohn and Foss (2005) call this *identification through mystification* in explaining how humans connect with charismatic rhetors they do not know. In

the process of mystification, tensions can be produced and Burke argues symbol use creates such tensions and uses the term *guilt* to refer to all symbol use tensions (Littlejohn and Foss 2005).

Burke's theory of identification draws from classical argumentation principles first identified by Aristotle, one being enthymeme. Because enthymeme serves as a rhetorical shorthand, the use of enthymemes expedites the process of identification. However, because enthymemes rely on the audience to complete the argument, individuals may complete the argument in different ways and those differences are at the root of what Burke calls *mystification*.

Chapter three detailed the campaign's use of enthymeme as a means of invoking participation in the construction of the spots meaning. Enthymeme serves not only to strengthen the connective fibers between spot and viewer but within Burke's identification theory, enthymeme, as it was used in the branding campaign, strengthened the connective fibers between viewer and viewer. When one viewer engages in communication with another viewer about the spots or Las Vegas, the conversation occurring in either print or spoken lexicon makes them consubstantial. Even if one or both of the viewers has no first hand experience with the city, the charismatic television spots shroud the lack of first hand experience (*identification through mystification*) to facilitate the viewers ability to identify not only with other humans but due to the "agentification of scene" discussed earlier, the viewer can identify with Las Vegas as rhetor.

When the campaign is said to alleviate our *guilt* in indulging in what Vegas has to offer, this takes on a new meaning with our understanding of Burke's treatment of *guilt*. Therefore, the *guilt* assuaged is not the guilt felt when losing money at blackjack, but in reducing our tensions about talking about the trip where the money was lost. This is a complex process achieved by Las Vegas in less than thirty seconds. But given the deafening role of advertising today, one spot

does not accomplish identification. This is where examining the type of communication used by the advertising campaign becomes critical to the study of destination branding.

The use of Campbell and Jamieson's five aims of advertising was very useful in extrapolating the strategies at work in the television spots. The five aims, recognition, differentiation, association, participation and redundancy address the form of the destination branding campaign, thereby assisting in the isolation of advertising elements while revealing branding components. No other destination branding studies up to this point have used this approach and have overlooked how the channel itself is capable of communicating the brand. So although the brand's success may be explained by place attachment theory, branding and Burkean theory, analysis of the brand has to begin by addressing the basic form of advertising and its principle aims.

So through the combining of multiple disciplines, place attachments pentadic theory, identification theory and the five aims of advertising, links between the theories can be seen more clearly. Burke already associated identification with persuasion, but this analysis suggests the five aims of advertising (recognition, association, differentiation, participation and redundancy) a sub-set of persuasion has natural links to Burke's theory of identification. Thus, it can be seen that symbol use or misuse is a question of recognition. Consubstantiality is a question of associations. Differentiation is a matter of order. Mystification is a matter of participation. Recall from chapter three how Burke noted that the body of identifications that are made convincing through trivial repetition, making the final connection that the complex process of identification is based on redundancy. These links indicate destination branding research can use the five aims of advertising in studying destination branding to expose how brands *identify* with places in power relationships.

CONSTRUCTING THE DESTINATION BRAND

Textual analysis of the campaign spots from 2000 to 2006 revealed several strategies that Las Vegas used that may or may not be useful to other destinations. Such a treatment standing alone offers the same types of suggestions other destination branding research has offered, destination specific strategies. However the wider treatment conducted here reveals key phases to constructing a destination brand regardless of the specific location. It is not the argument that this list is all-inclusive, however the phases offered are requisite to the construction of a successful destination brand.

The first phase involves a thorough process of destination identification. This is more than a list of hotels or attractions. Destination identification involves a thorough treatment of the destination's identity. Las Vegas was influenced by certain factors that left their mark on the location. Factors such as a wide gamut of legislation, mediated depictions and cultural trends also impact the identity of a location. Understanding those factors and more importantly, their legacy influences the identity of a particular location. A clear understanding of this identity is required before determining the most appropriate brand for a location. To be accurate, destination identification may need to be formulated by individuals or organizations with a completely external perspective.

Destination researchers already stress the importance of what is known as the essence of the destination (Morgan, Pritchard & Piggott 2003). Destination researchers argue the importance of understanding the essence of a location to accurately reflect the experiences of a particular location. However, from a communication standpoint, this case study of Las Vegas

suggests it is the perspective more than the reality which is critical to forming the destination brand.

For example, Las Vegas decided its brand was going to be freedom. The word appeared in early slogans, it was prominently placed in narratives, in the name of Las Vegas websites and the focus of a politically themed campaign that offered a Las Vegas definition of freedom that contrasted with an American definition of the word. Those campaigns were less successful than the campaigns that began in 2003. The brand was not changed to mean something different, Las Vegas communicated the brand differently and that evoked greater success. The narratives still operate under the same brand, but the communication surrounding the branding initiative indicates the brand need never be spoken just communicated.

How the brand is communicated will vary based on the location which is why the proper and accurate identification of the location's identity is necessary. Some locations will require more informational branding efforts while others like Las Vegas can use more indirect branding efforts because the destination is already well known.

The next key phase in constructing a destination brand is conducting research regarding each possible brand. Las Vegas's research efforts and subsequent success is the best testimony to investing in research before and during the brand construction. Destination researchers have already argued for ongoing research measures but greater emphasis needs to be placed on research in the early phases, particularly in the strategies used to communicate the brand. To support such early research emphasis, the discussion should now return to the basic form of branding.

In chapter three, the television spots were analyzed for incidents of emotional branding which were used, "to carry on a personal dialogue with consumers on the issues which are most

meaningful to them” (Gobe 2001 pxxiii). Spots taking place poolside, in hotel rooms and in taxi cabs relate to those tourist experiences and spots that take place after experiencing Las Vegas relate to tourists’ expectations of how they will recall their trip. Research into the recall of those memories may be useful to destination branding.

When constructing a destination brand, a destination needs to be aware not only with the tourist experience but also the myths surrounding their locale and be mindful of the role of cultural branding in developing the destination brand. American history created myths of Las Vegas and disembodying those American myths with the new myth of being family friendly in the nineties indicated a disconnect between the new role and the role Las Vegas had been asked to serve in American society.

The third key phase in constructing the destination brand is the selection of the best rhetorical strategies to communicate the brand. The Las Vegas brand alone did not prompt an increase in tourism or swiftly change the way the nation talked about the city, the rhetorical strategies did. Finding the particular formula for success took several efforts. Unfortunately, as indicated by several articles discovered in the content analysis of the media’s use of the slogan were other locations trying to come up with catchy slogans for themselves. Some held contests or organized committees and visitor’s authorities to “do what Vegas had done” without examining how to manifest such slogans communicatively. Mimicking without understanding the rhetorical power of a destination brand is what makes this a risky rhetorical strategy capable of wasting vast resources of revenue and still not being able to discern why a brand failed.

Destinations may already spend money on research, but this author would argue they are spending it on the wrong questions. Rather than trying to understand which amenity or photograph draws people to a particular place, research needs to address how people currently

talk about the location, whether the talk is favorable, and if it is not, what methods might induce a shift in changing the way people talk about place. This case study affirms the need for destination branding research to move out of solely tourism studies into place attachments achieved via communication or risk more failed branding efforts.

The greatest conclusion drawn from the Las Vegas television spots is that when constructing a destination brand, participation is paramount. When visiting a location tourists participate in the myths surrounding a location, by invoking the tourists' participation in the television spot, it is a precursor to their experience of the location. In essence, their experience of the destination begins in the television spot. "Getting the brand right," as Morgan Pritchard and Piggott argue, means extending the tourist experience outside of the physical location and doing so before the tourist ever reaches the location. Now a trip to Las Vegas begins with the decision to visit and includes the way one speaks to others about the upcoming visit. The trip no longer is relegated to the time spent in the actual location.

Although the campaign is the packaging used by the LVCVA to present their product, the destination brand for Las Vegas was constructed within the viewer's mindset using the viewer's participation in the construction of the brand. In constructing a destination brand, locations need to consider not only the selection of images or slogans but how the tourist plays a role in the construction of the destination brand. Las Vegas' use of focus groups and testing television spots provided measures indicating the construction of the destination brand in the mind of the viewers resonated and not agitated.

The campaign's integration of multiple persuasive strategies offers one viable explanation for the increased visitor volume as well as the slogan's emergence into the lexicon verified by chapter four. Branding builds on emotional relationships and place attachments are

relationships that are formed by discourse about myths in narrative form. Invoking participation via humor, enthymeme and redundancy prompted viewers, not just tourists, to construct the meaning of the television spots. One might argue use of multiple persuasive strategies addresses the multi-dimensionality of branding destinations; however there is more to building the successful destination brand than layering strategies.

The use of destination brands has the rhetorical potential to affect the identifications of locations with long term and deep reaching effects. What lies at the core of destination brand construction, as indicated in the case of Las Vegas, is multiple persuasive strategies integrated into one another so seamlessly their relationships between and among one another establish the foundation for subsequent discourse, mediated or spoken regarding the city. Therefore, the study of destination branding may be inherently limited. Each location may have to have its own unique layering of persuasive strategies that research may not be capable of identifying one generalizable strategy for all destinations. Thus, the goal of destination branding is to use the rhetorical strategy better than other locations are using the strategy. Grossberg et. al note, “how precisely advertising works may be more art than science, may be more rules of thumb than clear knowledge” (2003 p312). Thus, this examination of Las Vegas should be viewed as useful in identifying “rules of thumb” regarding destination branding rather than pursuing generalizable knowledge about how to construct destination brands.

EVALUATING THE DESTINATION BRAND

As chapter four discussed in detail, evaluating a destination brand involves four phases: identifying the previous perceptions of the destination, identifying the communicative and rhetorical strategies of the campaign, and examining the discourse created by the campaign to

finally determine the brand's level of resonance. Suggestions were offered in chapter four for locations whose brands have not prompted the media attention of Las Vegas. However, this idea of resonance will now be afforded a more in-depth discussion.

Destination brands have largely been thought to be the careful selection of an identifying logo or slogan capable of communicating emotional feelings about a location. However, this treatment of Las Vegas reveals the destination brand is more than a careful choice. A destination brand is constructed in two locations: the campaign itself and then again in the mind of potential visitors. Resonance on both levels is crucial to the successful destination brand. Consider a model (Figure 5.1) where the application of a brand serves as a vehicle for changing the way a location is perceived.

FIGURE 5.1

VEHICLE MODEL FOR DESTINATION BRANDING



Destination branding research has focused on how well the brand or the campaign accurately reflects the original identity, often referred to as essence. The insights gleaned here offer two new considerations to this treatment. One new consideration is the function of essence in the destination brand and the other is the acquiring of added status to the destination brand.

First, the essence is not a clearly defined reality rather a perception. Perceptions evolve and transition with events linked to the destination. Destination branding research has treated

essence similar to the mythical pot of gold. Once the true essence is found, destination branding success is contained therein. This study argues the point that what the essence of Las Vegas is a cultural construct crafted over time, constantly being reinforced and updated by the potential tourist. Destination research needs to consider more in-depth examinations of the notion of essence in its case studies to more clearly define this term and its role in the destination brand.

Second, the location once branded is no longer the original identity but one that through the branding relationship has acquired new status. Recall the earlier example of the Louis Vuitton handbag owner. By talking about the product in a new way, the product has gained more status in the eyes of the owner. Once the name has been given to the handbag and referred to on more than one occasion as “Louie” it is unlikely it will be referred to as merely a purse or bag ever again. Once branded the destination’s status has been changed creating a new identity with new perception sets and associations that can not be retracted. Consider how the original definition of a brand was to permanently mark an object with a sign of ownership. Destination brands also carry a notion of permanence previously untreated in destination branding research.

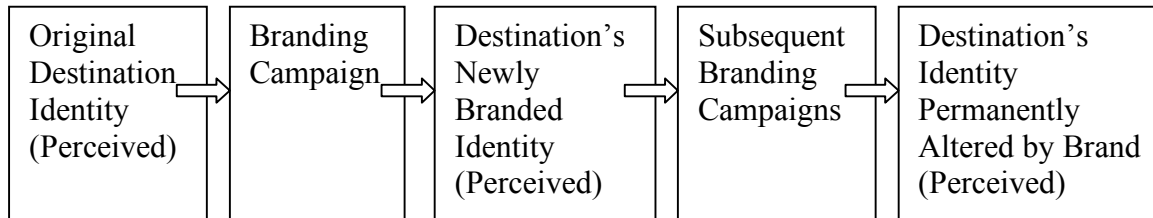
Las Vegas, when establishing its new brand had to reconcile the nineties family-friendly push as its previous brand. This makes the argument that even the perceived brand of a location contains some permanence even though the LVCVA was not behind the family-friendly push. Wanted or not, those campaigns altered the original identity, just as “what happens here, stays here” has permanently altered the identity of Las Vegas. Breaking or changing the new perception set would impede the resonance among audiences. Audiences may ask, why the change? And perceive the change in branding as a sign of weakness or cause for concern. Avoiding such unintended perceptions is why destination brand research has argued once a brand

has been selected, the destination must have the fortitude to remain faithful to the brand over long periods of time, decades, rather than merely years.

So for locations that have already selected a destination brand and tried to promote themselves using it, they must remain with it, even if a different brand would have yielded better results indicated by the content analysis of media discourse in chapter four. For destinations considering this strategy, branding should not be implemented on a whim because once begun, its permanence will inhibit future promotional efforts. Thus changing the model to less of a vehicle model to a chain model (Figure 5.2)

FIGURE 5.2

CHAIN MODEL FOR DESTINATION BRANDING



In returning to the notion of resonance, destination brands are more than vehicles used to change outside perceptions with little long-term effects. As Las Vegas has become the “what happens here, stays here” place, its identity is now linked to this slogan as much, if not more than the neon lights, showgirls and roulette wheels it was already linked to. Consider a snowball started at the top of a hill, picking up additional snow and grass on its descent, growing in size as a result of the additional associations. A destination has one chance to get the brand right or risk multiple additional efforts to cover up the previous associations and branding efforts but the

original efforts can never be completely extracted from the destination brand's identity as Las Vegas found with the family-friendly associations.

A destination brand's resonance is a measure of how well the destination brand not only reflects the physical location but the perceived characteristics of the location. This notion of brand resonance is also a measure of how well the brand synthesizes with the original identity to avoid creating dissonance among the audience. Further research needs to identify clear methods of measuring resonance both on campaign and viewer levels, this study has simply taken the first phase in identifying the importance of destination brand resonance.

Critical Probes

Destinations seeking to use this highly complicated and yet seemingly basic form of communication should consider the example Las Vegas has set and rather than imitate, formulate strategies appropriate for their location. Studying Las Vegas has revealed several strategies, presented here as critical probes, meant not to simplify the branding process but to begin the dialogue necessary to create successful destination brands. Through the development of the probes offered here, the author hopes the conversation regarding the use of this rhetorical strategy for a destination will be one considered carefully. Critical probes identified from each of the four phases of constructing a destination brand will be discussed in turn.

At the beginning of any destination embarking on the process of constructing a destination brand is one seminal question trumping all others: Is branding an appropriate strategy for the destination? Although Caldwell and Freire (2004) confirmed destinations could be branded does not mean that all destinations can be successfully branded. The destination's identity may not be clearly delineated, as Las Vegas' was, and thus frustrate the branding process

and waste vast amounts of revenue raising the additional question: Are informative efforts more appropriate at this time?

The second question all destinations considering this strategy should answer is: Does the destination, and its stakeholders, have the revenue necessary to achieve the redundancy requisite to successfully brand the destination? If the destination suffers from an fragmented identity and has only limited resources, proceeding forward with a destination brand could cause more damage to the destination's identity, taking years to recover from a failed attempt.

The first phase of constructing a destination brand, destination identification, has critical probes derived from Campbell and Jamieson's five aims of advertising. *Recognition*: What previous promotions, by the destination, have been conducted and how permeating were their effects? *Redundancy*: Should previous promotions be repeated, if updated, to further redundancy? *Favorable associations*: What associations did the destination used to, or currently, prompt? What associations of the location can be found in film and television portrayals? *Differentiation*: What experiences that are unique to the destination, can the destination claim? *Participation*: What connotative power does the destination's name already hold?

The second phase, conducting research, has critical probes organized into two categories: rhetorical obstacles, influenced by Campbell and Huxman (2003) and rhetorical opportunities influenced by the findings in this study. Inclusion of Campbell and Huxman's treatment of rhetorical obstacles holds promise not only for the destination brand researcher, but the destination seeking to use branding as well. In seeking to construct the perfect, successful destination brand, many locations overlook the basic function of the brand to communicate a persuasive message. Returning to core elements of the act of persuasion, obstacles related to the subject/purpose, rhetor and audience offers insight for the location and builds upon the process

of identification that this researcher argues is a critical component in both the construction and evaluation of destination brands. First, rhetorical obstacles must be addressed on four fronts, those relating to the *rhetor*, the *subject*, the *audience* and the *purpose*.

Rhetor related obstacles: How can the branding campaign address the *rhetor* related obstacles stemming from the destination's track record? Appearance? How the rhetor was introduced to the audience? Context? Occasion? For example, New Orleans, post- Hurricane Katrina has new rhetor based obstacles stemming from issues outside of the city's love for Mardi Gras celebrations. Addressing these obstacles is requisite to any promotional efforts.

Subject related obstacles: How can the branding campaign address the *subject* related obstacles stemming from issue complexity? Cultural history? Despite Israel's successful branding efforts, breakdowns in the peace process cloud the issue of visiting for tourists. The cultural history of the destination also raises obstacles for tourist who knows the cycle of unrest plaguing the area.

Audience related obstacles: How can the branding campaign address audience obstacles related to inattention? Misperceptions based on audience's attitudes, beliefs and decoding issues? Lack of motivation based on the audience's needs and values? Inertia? These probes should be addressed beyond determining target audience demographics so that they address the rhetorical climate created by the audience.

Purpose related obstacles: How can the branding campaign address purpose obstacles stemming from cost? Control? Las Vegas is a strong testament for working with airlines to create mutually beneficial partnerships and working with, not against mediated treatments from Hollywood.

The second category of the conducting research phase should contain rhetorical opportunity probes that call the destination to consider how to communicate within the context of culture and still resonate with the destination's identity. They raise questions like, What myths/narratives are connected to the location? How can the brand resonate with the identified myths/narratives? What are possible brands for the destination and which one of the possibilities resonates most with the destination identification analysis? What types of communication or grammatical constructions can uniquely be linked to the destination? Which type(s) of branding, mind-share, emotional, viral or cultural (Holt 2004), is (are) the most appropriate for the destination?

Strategy selection, the third phase, still involves research with an overtly communicative focus but these probes are designed to prompt decisions regarding the brand. What strategies are being used by other destinations? What core forms of persuasion/rhetoric are appropriate for the destination brand selected? What strategies are capable of translating obstacles into opportunities as Las Vegas did with its family-friendly associations? Is reducing the role of amenities appropriate for the destination being branded? What social needs can be associated with the destination?

The final phase, obtaining participation, draws from Burke's understanding of consubstantiality. How can audience participation be invoked in the branding campaign? How can ambiguity (mystification) function to increase participation? What experiences unique to the destination focus on the tourist experience?

The previous four phases of constructing destination brands are a pre-cursor to the critical probes of evaluating a destination brand once constructed and implemented. Does the slogan utilized bring the brand to a conceptual close? Is the brand constructed from an external or

internal perspective? How is the brand received in the media? How is the brand received on a local level? If there is local resistance, it may be an indication of success outside the destination, although this possibility is in direct opposition to D'Hautesserre findings (2001). Are the core forms of communication used in the campaign compatible with each other? What does the brand prompted discourse reveal about how the brand resonates with the destination's original identity? Are previous associations being upheld or de-emphasized?

CONCLUSION

The analysis of the Las Vegas branding efforts from 2000-2006 has indicated Las Vegas is indeed a "power brand" (Parente 2000). The campaign's swift successes made branding a destination appear easy when the opposite is true. Las Vegas' destination brand is an example of a sophisticated form of goal-oriented communication that is still reliant on its more basic forms. Destination branding research needs to incorporate methods, theories and frameworks capable of examining the basic forms in the complex formation of a destination brand.

Given the relationship components discussed in branding research and place attachment research, the elevation of location to agent is worthy of continued attention. Morgan, Pritchard & Piggott cite the World Tourism Organization's prophecy that "the next century will mark the emergence of tourism destinations as a fashion accessory. The choice of holiday destination will help define the identity of the traveler" (2003). This notion makes the example of the Louis Vuitton handbag all the more relevant to this analysis. We elevate our brand relationships, give them additional status and then use them to define our identities. As Jeremy Hildreth, brand consultant and co-author of *Brand America*, simply states the WTO's prophecy as "you are

where you go” (2006 p23). Clearly, Burke’s treatment of identification as accessed via destination brands is not off the mark.

Destination branding research may be facing challenges and lagging behind the rate at which this rhetorical strategy is being used, however when places are used as status indicators to maintain the status quo research needs to take note. Destination branding trends should continue to be monitored for their associations to societal power and status. Status indicators before required the purchase of an item, now one can talk about place and use talk to usurp others’ place attachments. Consider the ramifications of using places as status indicators when the anthropological perspective indicates people form attachments via talking about place. Communicating about place has the potential to become a means of maintaining societal power norms while undermining the basic human need to establish senses of place.

The examination of Las Vegas also indicates the destination branding process is evolutionary and is rooted in the destination’s identity, constructed through the branding campaign and permeates society over time revealed by monitoring the frequency of slogan uses by year in chapter four. Las Vegas was able to form its brand under five years because it had a hundred years of well-known history as a canvas to construct the new brand. Weinrich’s S-shaped curve of brand birth, growth, maturity, decay and death (in Morgan, Pritchard & Piggott 2004 p24) indicates that the Las Vegas is well on its way to maturity, despite some critics complains that the latest installment is “cute by not particularly memorable. Maybe its time to come up with new ways to condone irresponsible behavior” (Von Hoffman 2006). While some brand champions may argue they are still growing the brand, its wide reception into the spoken lexicon as indicated in chapter four may have expedited the brand’s growth. Only time will tell if the expediting of the brand accelerated its decay.

Unfortunately, it seems this analysis also suggests even successful destination brands should expect local resistance. Encountering local backlash to branding efforts was explained in this analysis as being a matter of perspective, internal versus external. For that destination branding challenge, there may be no resolution.

This analysis of Las Vegas also raised several questions such as how a brand impacts a city when the brand falls out of favor? What, then, are the long-term effects on the location? How do those effects impact people's formation of place attachments? Another area of concern not addressed here is what can place attachment theory reveal about other destination brands? Comparing Las Vegas with another location might offer additional answers. The final area of inquiry raised by this analysis is can the evaluative strategies offered here replace the definitive set of brand success criteria Hankinson called for? As well as, what additional evaluative strategies will make the list more complete?

This study's in-depth treatment of destination branding in an American context on a city level confirms that American destinations can be branded effectively. Beyond that, the analysis indicates the brand can permeate the culture and become part of the identity attached to the destination by society. What this study can not offer, however, is any prediction of how long the Las Vegas slogan and brand will remain prominent. The question is not, whether or not what happened in Las Vegas will stay in Las Vegas, but how long will what worked for Las Vegas continue to work for Las Vegas?

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1

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APPENDIX 2

LIST OF TELEVISION SPOTS

*(While some names indicated here were the names given by the campaign, many are named by the author. Note * indicates spot was not included in analysis.)*

Freedom Campaign (2000-December 2002)

Mud Flap Girls
Arctic Man
*Welcome to Las Vegas sign**
Red Carpet (Oscars)
Game (All Star Game)
*Vegas Calling (series of spots)**

Companion Freedom Campaign (Sept. 2000-Jan. 2001)

Chair
Fireplace
Flag
Statue

Post-9-11 Campaign (January 2002-June 2002)

Sinatra
"It's Time for You"

Vegas Stories (2003-2006)

I
Limo/Mistress
Conventioneers
Post Card
Wedding Chapel

II
Silent Car
Grandparents
Wake-Up Call
Lost Luggage

III
Boxing
Parents
Voicemail
Bachelor Party

Vegas Alibi (2005)

Shopping

Dining

Shows

Only Vegas (2006)

Name Game

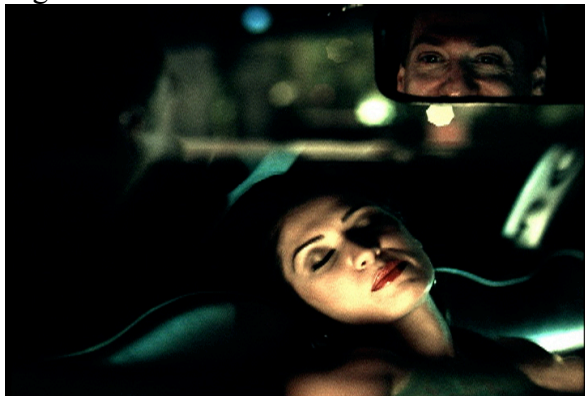
*Pool w/cell phone**

*Clovergrove Gardner**

R&R Partners holds all copyrights to television spots listed here and requests to obtain spots should be directed to R&R Partners, 900 South Pavilion Center Drive, Las Vegas, NV 89144

APPENDIX 3
CAMPAIGN IMAGES

Figure 3.1



Limo/Mistress ©R&R Partners

Figure 3.2



Wedding Chapel ©R&R Partners

Figure 3.3



Lint Roller ©R&R Partners

Figure 3.4



Wake Up Call ©R&R Partners

Figure 3.5



Lost Luggage ©R&R Partners

Figure 3.6



Postcard ©R&R Partners

Figure 3.7



Dining ©R&R Partners

Figure 3.8



Wedding Chapel Kiss ©R&R Partners

Figure 3.9



Name Game ©R&R Partners

Campaign images were reprinted with permission. R&R Partners holds all copyrights to the images shown here. Requests for permission to use images should be directed to R&R Partners, 900 South Pavilion Center Drive, Las Vegas, NV, 89144.

APPENDIX 4

INTER-CODER RELIABILITY CALCULATIONS FOR THREE CODERS

Variable	Shared Codes	Total Codes Found	Percent Agreement
Article Type	55	60	91.6
Article Focus	55	60	91.6
Article Valence	34	48	70.8
Total Sin References	42	60	70.0
Historical Sin References	59	60	98.3
Use of “sin”	58	60	96.7
Other sin terms	54	60	90.0
Sexual references	54	60	90.0
Total of Amenities References	49	60	81.6
Named Amenities	53	60	88.3
Generic Amenities	52	60	86.6
Number of Slogans found	122	127	96.1
Slogan Manner	114	127	89.7
Slogan Function	104	127	81.8

(shared codes/total codes =%)

APPENDIX 5

CRITICAL PROBES FOR CONSTRUCTING & EVALUATING DESTINATION BRANDS

To brand or not to brand?

1. Is branding an appropriate strategy for the destination?
2. Are informative efforts more appropriate at this time?
3. Does the destination, and its stakeholders, have the revenue necessary to achieve the redundancy requisite to successfully brand the destination?

Destination Identification

1. Recognition: What previous promotions, by the destination, have been conducted and how permeating were their effects?
2. Redundancy: Should previous promotions be repeated, if updated, to further redundancy?
3. Favorable associations: What associations did the destination used to, or currently, prompt? What associations of the location can be found in film and television portrayals?
4. Differentiation: What experiences that are unique to the destination, can the destination claim?
5. Participation: What connotative power does the destination's name already hold?

Conducting Research

Rhetorical Obstacles

1. Rhetor: How can the branding campaign address the *rhetor* related obstacles stemming from the destination's track record? Appearance? How the rhetor was introduced to the audience? Context? Occasion?
2. Subject: How can the branding campaign address the *subject* related obstacles stemming from issue complexity? Cultural history?
3. Audience: How can the branding campaign address audience obstacles related to inattention? Misperceptions based on audience's attitudes, beliefs and decoding issues? Lack of motivation based on the audience's needs and values? Inertia?

4. Purpose: How can the branding campaign address purpose obstacles stemming from cost? Control?

Rhetorical Opportunities

1. What myths/narratives are connected to the location?
2. How can the brand resonate with the identified myths/narratives?
3. What are possible brands for the destination and which one of the possibilities resonates most with the destination identification analysis?
4. What types of communication or grammatical constructions can uniquely be linked to the destination?
5. Which type(s) of branding, mind-share, emotional, viral or cultural (Holt 2004), is (are) the most appropriate for the destination?

Strategy Selection

1. What strategies are being used by other destinations?
2. What core forms of persuasion/rhetoric are appropriate for the destination brand selected?
3. What strategies are capable of translating obstacles into opportunities as Las Vegas did with its family-friendly associations?
4. Is reducing the role of amenities appropriate for the destination being branded?
5. What social needs can be associated with the destination?

Invoking Participation

1. How can audience participation be invoked in the branding campaign?
2. How can ambiguity (mystification) function to increase participation?
3. What experiences unique to the destination focus on the tourist experience?

Evaluation

1. Does the slogan utilized bring the brand to a conceptual close?
2. Is the brand constructed from an external or internal perspective?
3. How is the brand received in the media?
4. How is the brand received on a local level?
5. Are the core forms of communication used in the campaign compatible with each other?
6. What does the brand prompted discourse reveal about how the brand resonates with the destination's original identity?
7. Are previous associations being upheld or de-emphasized?

EXHIBIT 13

Sin City Chamber of Commerce
references

(0477-0478)

EXHIBIT 13


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Sin City Chamber of Commerce

COMPANY OVERVIEW

[Click here for Company History](#)

Status:	Private Company	Founded:	2004	Annual Revenue (2018):	
Exchange:	-	PR.com ID #:	SI0638	Number of Employees:	-
Symbol:	-	Website:	www.sincitychamberofcommerce.com		
Industries:	Organizations & Institutions, Consumer Services, Retail & Consumer Services				

Company Description

A Las Vegas Chamber of Commerce that embraces all businesses, the Sin City Chamber of Commerce offers a true chamber experience for all Las Vegas Businesses. Las Vegas / Sin City is like no other place on earth and the Sin City Chamber of Commerce is like no other Chamber. A fun, exciting and rewarding membership awaits you.

COMPANY HISTORY

[Click here for Company Overview](#)

The Sin City Chamber of Commerce is a member based business organization located in Las Vegas and created to promote with equality, respect and fairness the businesses that provide the products and services that Sin City Las Vegas is noted for worldwide.

The local economy in Las Vegas and the surrounding communities flourishes because of the services provided to a specific segment of the 36 million annual visitors, spending billions of dollars in the pursuit of fun and pleasure. Members of the Sin City Chamber of Commerce are owners and executives who believe their businesses are an essential part of the image and concept of Sin City.


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EXHIBIT 14

Nevada Day 2018 Website
(0479-0480)

EXHIBIT 14


[« All Events](#)

This event has passed.

Nevada Day 2018

October 27, 2018 @ 8:00 am - 4:00 pm Free



Nevadan's love a parade, but Nevada Day is more than just a parade! It is Nevada's Heritage Celebration, a gathering of community spirit to salute our state's past and look ahead to its future. Nevada Day is a grand celebration commemorating admission to statehood on October 31, 1864. Nevadan's have the distinction of holding the largest statehood celebration in the nation! The highlight is the **Nevada Day Parade**. This year will be our states 154th birthday, and also marks 80 year's since the Nevada Day Celebration moved to our Capitol, and featured a large parade downtown, on main street Carson City. Our Theme for this year's Nevada Day Celebration is "**A State of Economic Diversity**", which showcases the extremely diverse economic makeup of our beautiful state "" one of the most diverse in the Union, we feel, but you be the judge. Everything from: Tourism to Technology, Construction to Cuisine, Mining to Manufacturing, Health care to Hospitality, Gaming to Banking, Energy to Renewable Energy, Ranching to Agriculture, Auto Dealers to Service Centers, Real Estate to Warehousing, Arts to Entertainment, and yes, Legal Prostitution and Cannabis. The list just goes on and on! Let's not forget about Sports! The Reno Aces to Las Vegas 51's, along with Reno 1868 Soccer. The Las Vegas Golden Knights to the Las Vegas Raiders (due 2020), NASCAR, UFC, and NFR. True, we did unfortunately lose the Reno Bighorns, but then we did gain the Las Vegas Aces WNBA Team. Is it just me, or is Nevada becoming a Team Sports destination state as well! Please visit The Nevada Day Store located inside the Carson City Culture and Tourism Authority at 716 North Carson, we would love to see you!

[+ GOOGLE CALENDAR](#)
[+ I CAL EXPORT](#)

EXHIBIT 15

Minutes from Assembly Committee on
Government Affairs, May, 12, 2017 at
page 12; Exhibit E PowerPoint
presentation by Senator Segerblom

(0481-0493)

EXHIBIT 15

Assembly Committee on Government Affairs
May 12, 2017
Page 12

There are 40 million people who visit Las Vegas annually and probably 50 million throughout the state. We will be advertising worldwide that marijuana is legal in Nevada. If visitors purchase marijuana here, they will not have a place to use it. They will have to go to their hotel room or walk up and down the Las Vegas Strip which, from my perspective, is not desirable.

Rather than stick our head in the sand [page 1, ([Exhibit E](#))], I think it is important that we allow local governments to experiment based on what they deem appropriate. We are not mandating what they can do. Clark County has a Green Ribbon Advisory Panel that reviews land use and licensing of retail marijuana establishments. They are working with the Las Vegas Strip motels. The hotels have recognized that it would be better to have places for people to use marijuana rather than have them find a place on their own. Fifty-five percent of the voters approved the Nevada Marijuana Legalization Initiative, Question 2 (Q2) in the 2016 general election. To those of you who are worried about Nevada's reputation, Nevada has a history of endorsing exotic activities [page 3, ([Exhibit E](#))]. About five miles over the hill in Mound House are brothels, so the idea that we might think a marijuana social club would be inappropriate for Nevada does not seem realistic.

The bill authorizes local governments to develop ordinances around marijuana. If they do not want to create any ordinances, they do not have to [page 10, ([Exhibit E](#))].

Assemblyman Kramer:

I have a liberal streak. Since the citizens of Nevada voted to legalize recreational marijuana use, I am in favor of this bill. It seems like the language changed since the petition was circulated. I do not remember it including the open smoking in commercial establishments. It seems like the petition did not specifically include that language. Is S.B. 236 (R1) a step beyond what was voted on in the actual petition?

Senator Segerblom:

I do not believe so. We worked with the Legislative Counsel Bureau (LCB) and were very careful with the language. The Legislative Counsel Bureau has said that once an initiative has passed, there is a waiting period before something can be changed. The fact that this was approved by LCB tells me S.B. 236 (R1) does not contradict Q2. There may be some language concerning home use, but it did not specifically say it was not allowed. From my perspective, everyone anticipated this. The Governor is raising \$70 million from the 10 percent excise tax. That means \$700 million in marijuana sales in the next two years. I do not think the Governor thought I was going to use that much marijuana, or that this Committee might use that much. However, somebody will use it, and it will most likely be the 40 million tourists. Using marijuana in a hotel room or on the street is illegal. This bill provides local governments the choice of where marijuana can be used.

Assemblywoman Bilbray-Axelrod:

I have heard that the Royal Links Golf Course in Las Vegas is allowing people to smoke marijuana on the course. Is that legal? My concern is about a contact high from second-hand marijuana smoke. What if a person is in a place with their 10-year-old child?

Assembly Committee on Government Affairs
May 12, 2017
Page 35

EXHIBITS

[Exhibit A](#) is the Agenda.

[Exhibit B](#) is the Attendance Roster.

[Exhibit C](#) is a proposed amendment to Senate Bill 183 (1st Reprint) submitted by the Nevada Rural Housing Authority and presented by Lucas M. Foletta, representing Nevada Rural Housing Authority.

[Exhibit D](#) is a letter in opposition to Senate Bill 183 (1st Reprint) to members of the Assembly Committee on Government Affairs, authored and submitted by Dora D. LaGrande, Asset Manager, Global Property Management Group, Inc.

[Exhibit E](#) is a copy of a PowerPoint presentation titled, "SB 236: Authorizes local governments to issue permits to businesses that allow the public use of marijuana," presented by Senator Tick Segerblom, Senate District No. 3.

[Exhibit F](#) is a letter dated May 10, 2017, in opposition to Senate Bill 236 (1st Reprint) to Chairman Flores and members of the Assembly Committee on Government Affairs, authored and submitted by John Packham, President, Nevada Tobacco Prevention Coalition.

[Exhibit G](#) is written testimony presented by Senator Yvanna D. Cancela, Senate District No. 10, regarding Senate Bill 429 (1st Reprint).

[Exhibit H](#) is the Work Session Document for Senate Bill 176 (1st Reprint), presented by Jered McDonald, Committee Policy Analyst, Research Division, Legislative Counsel Bureau.

[Exhibit I](#) is the Work Session Document for Senate Bill 188, presented by Jered McDonald, Committee Policy Analyst, Research Division, Legislative Counsel Bureau.



SB 236

Authorizes local governments to issue permits to businesses that allow the public use of marijuana.



Assembly Committee: Government Affairs
Exhibit: E Page 1 of 10 Date: 05/12/2017
Submitted by: Senator Tick Segerblom